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Adams, Francis Ottiwell,
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The history of Japan from
the earliest period to the
present time

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THE HISTORY OF JAPAN



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THE

HISTORY OF JAPAN

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO
THE PRESENT TIME

VOL. I.—TO THE YEAR 1864.

BY

FRANCIS OTTIWELL ADAMS, F.R.G.S.

HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF EMBASSY AT BERLIN; FORMERLY
HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES AND
SECRETARY OF LEGATION AT YEDO

HENRY S. KING & Co.

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1874

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.

HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ETC.

P R E F A C E .

THIS work is intended to be a comprehensive narrative of the principal events in Japan from the earliest period up to the present time. It has been compiled from the best official and native sources within my reach. I venture to think that the information contained in it will be acceptable to those interested in the subject, and also of assistance to future writers when, from the increasing intercourse between Japan and Western nations, our knowledge of the former shall have become more extensive.

Throughout the book I have followed the spelling now adopted by the British Legation in Japan. The vowels are pronounced as in Italian. *F* and *l* are replaced by *h* and *r* according to the Yedo pronunciation, and *si* becomes *shi*. Thus an island is written *shima*, the *i* being in all such cases very short. I have corrected the wrong spelling of Shimonoséki. *Shimo* means lower, *no* of, and *séki* a barrier; *saki* means a

cape, and the liquor fermented, not distilled, from rice is *saké*. The double *o* becomes *u*, so that instead of Shimadzoo I write Shimadzu, all such *u*'s being hardly heard in Japanese. The proper spelling of Osaka is Ôzaka, and of Hakodadi, Hakodaté. There can only be one *d* in Yedo.

The plans of Kiôto are from some wood-blocks cut in Yedo, and were kindly sent to me from there by Mr. Satow.

F. O. ADAMS.

BERLIN, *February*, 1874.

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HISTORY OF JAPAN.

INTRODUCTION.

It is naturally only within the last few years that a more accurate knowledge of the earlier Japanese history than is contained in the old books, written in European languages, has been possible. The number of persons sufficiently conversant with the language, and with the Chinese character in which so much of the literature is written, is still exceedingly small, and in the first years of foreign intercourse the list of books at the disposal of students was very limited. Now, however, every year adds to the amount of our information, and no one has done, nor is doing, more important services in increasing that information than Mr. Ernest Satow, Japanese Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation at Yedo. In elegant and accurate scholarship he stands at the head of the list, and he has untiringly devoted the limited leisure, which his arduous and responsible duties permit, to the study and translation of various native historical works. Amongst these is the *Nihon Gwaishi*, published in 1827, and containing twenty-two volumes, the composition of which occupied its author, Rai Sanyo, twenty years. It is, according to

INTRO-
DUCTION.

Materials
for early
history.

Contribu-
tions of
Mr. Satow.

The *Nihon*
Gwaishi.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

Mr. Satow, the most widely read of that author's writings, and though some of the details may be inaccurate, the book has much value as being the chief source from which most Japanese of education derive their notions of the history of their own country. The translation of several portions of this work has already appeared in the columns of the *Japan Mail*, published at Yokohama, and although somewhat confusing to the general reader, owing to the multitude of Japanese names and to minuteness of detail, it is, as the translator well observes, worthy of study by those who wish to acquaint themselves with the ideas which have governed the progress of events during the last fifteen years. With Mr. Satow's permission, I have gladly availed myself of the great additional light thrown upon the history of Japan by his labours, not only in the translation of portions of the *Nihon Gwaishi*, but also in that of other works which will be noticed in their proper place. The reader will also find much information in the notes, many of which, in order to indicate their source, are subscribed with the initials of the learned Japanese Secretary.

The divine
descent
of the
Emperor.

It is well known that Japanese tradition traces the present Emperor in an unbroken line up to a certain divinity. The *Shin dai no maki*, or history of the divine dynasties, and the first volume of the great history of Japan called *Dai Nihon Shi*, by Minamoto no Mitsukuni, gives, according to Klaproth, in his *Annales des Empereurs du Japon*,* the cosmogony and the fabulous history of the country.

Some extracts from the native accounts of the origin of the world, *i.e.* of Great Japan, and of the *Ten Shin Shichi Dai*, or seven generations of celestial spirits, may not be inappropriate.

* Page xi.

Anciently, heaven and earth were not separated. The female principle *me* was not detached from the male principle *ô*. Chaos, in the form of an egg, was agitated in waves like a troubled sea. Still it contained the germs of all things; the pure and transparent rose up and formed the heaven, whilst everything heavy and opaque fell downwards, was coagulated, and produced the earth. Subtle and perfect matter combined, and formed the ether; heavy and thick matter hardened, and became that which is compact. The heaven was therefore formed the first, and the earth was finished afterwards. A divine being, or *kami*, was born in the midst. This event is regarded as the commencement of creation. An island of soft earth swam on the waters like a fish. At the same time, between heaven and earth, a thing was born similar to the shoots of the plant *ashi*. It was metamorphosed into a god (*kami*), to whom was given the honorific title of *Kuni toko tachi no mikoto*,* and he was the first of the seven celestial spirits. He reigned 100,000 millions of years, as did each of his two successors. According to the laws of heaven, the first three spirits were self-born, and were pure males. The fourth, fifth, and sixth had female companions, but there was no sexual intercourse. They reproduced each other, as males and females, by mutual contemplation; and they reigned a fabulous number of years. Then arose the male spirit *Izanagi no Mikoto*, and the female spirit *Izanami no Mikoto*. They ascended upon the *Ama no uki bashi*, or bridge of heaven, and said: "Are there not countries and islands down there?" Upon this they directed downwards the heavenly spear of red

INTRO-
DUCTION.Creation of
heaven and
earth.The first of
the seven
celestial
spirits.The male
and female
spirits.

* *Mikoto* was never, as has been asserted, a *title* of the Emperor of Japan.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

precious stone, and stirred up the bottom. When they withdrew the spear from the troubled waters, some drops fell from it, and formed the island called *Ono koro shima*, or the island formed spontaneously. Then the two spirits descended and dwelt upon it. This island is the middle column on which the empire rests.

Invention
of the art
of love.

The male spirit went to the left, and the female spirit to the right, and meeting at the column of the Empire, they recognized each other, and the female spirit sang as follows: "I am delighted to meet so handsome a youth." The male spirit replied, in an injured tone, "I am a man, it is right therefore that I should speak first; how dost thou, a woman, dare to commence?" Thereupon they separated, and continued their road in opposite directions. Meeting again at the point from which they started, the male spirit commenced to sing in these words: "I am very happy to find a young and beautiful woman." And it was then that the art of love was invented.*

Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto no doubt represented the male and female principles which, according to Chinese mythology, pervade all creation. From their union mountains, rivers, in fact all earth, which to the Japanese was Japan, came into existence. They then perceived that a being was required to govern this created world, and the result

* Another tradition states, that as these two divine beings were standing upon the floating bridge of heaven, two wagtails came, and the gods, watching the amorous dalliance of the two birds, invented the art of love. Hence, in the marriage ceremonial prescribed by Japanese custom, there is one table on which two wagtails are placed.—See "Tales of Old Japan," by A. B. Mitford, vol. ii. pp. 247-8, and note.

was a daughter, called Ten shô dai jin,* commonly known to us as the "sun goddess." But she was so beautiful that her parents resolved to send her up to heaven, and charge her with the government of the universe. A second daughter was born, and was called Tsuki no Kami, or "moon goddess." Though not so brilliant a beauty as her sister, she was also sent up to heaven to govern the world conjointly with the former.

INTRO-
DUCTION.
Their
children.

Afterwards Hiru ko, or the leech, was born. This child could not walk, or even stand, before it was three years old. It was sent to the sea by its parents, and was, in fact, the god of the sea. Finally Sôsan no ô no Mikoto, the god of storms, was born. He became furious on the slightest provocation, otherwise he was of a soft temper, and had always tears in his eyes. But, when provoked, he broke everything to pieces, tore up trees, and set the mountain forests on fire. His parents chided him, and gave him to understand that he was too intractable to remain on earth, and that they should remove him to Né no kuni, the land of roots, a desert region to the north-west of Kiôto, popularly taken to represent hell.

Having finished the creation, Izanagi no Mikoto returned to heaven with his wife, having constructed in Awaji a hut, in memory of their sojourn on that isle.

From the sun goddess it is asserted that the present Emperor is descended, without a single break. This presumption is to be found continually in Japanese writings and in the edicts promulgated by the Emperor. The divine descent is mentioned in such sentences as the

Present
Emperor
descended
from the
sun god-
dess.

* Or Ten shô kô dai jin. - This is the Chinese translation of Amaterasu ô mi Kami, the original name of the goddess.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

following:—"Since the heavenly ancestors established the foundations of the country, the imperial line has not failed for ten thousand years." The Emperor himself says: "We gratefully continue in our person the great line;" and, to take a late instance, the imperial decree in 1872 respecting Liukiu commences as follows: "We, by the grace of Heaven, having succeeded to the imperial throne occupied by one line for 10,000 years." Other instances will be met with in the course of this work.

It may be remarked that such a line has not been difficult to preserve in a country where the principle of adoption exists on the widest basis, and where the son of a concubine can legitimately succeed to his father's inheritance.*

Origin of
Japanese
uncertain.

The origin of the Japanese of the present day is still involved in mystery, and it has not been determined with any degree of certainty whence the invaders came who dispossessed the aborigines. That they are a mixed race is clear; there is Chinese, there is Mongolian, and there is Corean blood amongst them; also, as it seems, Malay, and there may have been immigrations from the Polynesian Islands.

Aborigines
only in
Yezo.

The original inhabitants, the *Aino*,† are now only to be seen in the northern island of Yezo. They are a hairy race, living in poverty in the rudest of huts, and speaking a language of their own. Dr. Dickson says:‡

* The practice of adoption, which supplies the childless with heirs, is common all over the East, but its justification in Japan is the necessity of keeping up the ancestral sacrifices.—E. S.

Each daimio had only one real wife, but he had concubines according to his pleasure.

† *Aino*, said by some to be a corruption of *inu*, dog.—E. S.

‡ "Japan," by Walter Dickson. William Blackwood and Sons, 1869, pp. 15, 16.

“There are two strongly-marked varieties of features in Japan, which are always strikingly portrayed in their own pictures. There is the broad, flat face of the lower classes, and the high nose and oval face of the higher. The difference is so marked as to be some argument in favour of a previous mixing of two different races: the one which had extended southwards from the Kurile Islands and Siberia, hairy and broad-featured; while the other had originated from the south, with Indian features and smooth skins.”

INTRO-
DUCTION.

With respect to the invaders, Japanese tradition states that the fifth ruler in descent from the sun goddess was Jimmu, or the spirit of war (B.C. 667). He is considered to have been the first *mortal* ruler, and with him the real history of Japan may perhaps be taken to commence. It is very probable that this hero, or his ancestors, came originally from the mainland of Asia with a body of adherents; that these men landed in the southern island of Kiushiu, established themselves there, gradually vanquished other tribes of immigrants, and pushing their conquests further and further, drove the aborigines to the northward and eastward, and thus the Kiôto, or capital * (which is the signification of the word), came to be established in the largest of the group.

B.C. 667.
Jimmu,
first *mortal*
ruler.Probably
came
from Asia.Establish-
ment of the
Kiôto, or
capital.

It is in the nature of things that many of the aborigines would remain attached to the soil which they and their fathers had cultivated, and would become the bondsmen of the invaders. From them, with an admixture of the intruders, it is fair to assume that the flat-faced peasants and lower classes of the present day are descended, whilst out of the ranks of the

Class
divisions.

* Miako also means capital. The real name given to the city was Heian, or Heianjô.

INTR-
DUCTION.

invaders exclusively was formed that military class which became dominant, and constituted the nobility of the land. The generals and chiefs of tribes, and the whole military caste, naturally lorded it over the peasants, and despised them; and the latter looked up to and were subservient to the former. It is thus easy to conceive that after a time the chieftains would come to be regarded as so high above the common people that the fiction of divine descent was attributed to the ruler, and then the Japanese mythology was invented to support this pretension.

Different
designa-
tions of the
Emperor.

The Emperor, as the sovereign of Japan may be called, has been designated by various names; and since many inaccurate statements have been made concerning them, I will here give what I believe to be a correct description of the principal ones.

Mikado. One derivation is from *mi*, honourable, and *kado*, gate. The notion would thus be that the Emperor is so high above the rest of mortals, that it would be disrespectful to speak of him directly—just as no one but the privileged few was allowed to enter his presence—and therefore he is designated by the gate of his palace. Similarly are used *renka*, under the carriage or sedan, and *heika*, under or below the steps leading to the Emperor's dais. The above derivation of *mikado* is supported by good authority and is plausible. But Mr. Satow states that there is a different etymology, which he thinks harmonizes better with Japanese ideas, viz. *mika*, great, and *to*, which, according to the rules of the language, becomes *do* in composition, and is a root meaning “place.”

Kôtei. *Kô* is a term applied to sovereigns; *tei*, the appellation of one who judges the world, or rules over the nations.

Tennô, compounded of *ten*, heaven, and *ô*, which is another way of pronouncing the *kô* in *kôtei*. This is the appellation now used officially. INTRO-
DUCTION.

Tenshi, son of heaven.

Kinri, the forbidden interior. This and *dairi*, which is also used to denote the Emperor, originally meant the imperial palace.*

Chôtei. The Chinese character representing *chô* means morning, also an interview of ministers with the sovereign, from their being required to go to Court early in the morning. The Chinese character representing *tei* means a place of general concourse and permanent residence: the midst of the Court. Hence the signification of *chôtei* is the hall of audience, the court, hence the Emperor.

To return to Jimmu Tennô, we may infer that he became the sovereign of most, if not all, of the islands of Kiushiu and Shikoku, and of a large tract of the principal island as well. This island, by the way, is generally called Nippon or Nihon by foreigners, and no greater mistake can be made, as that word in reality denotes the whole territory of Japan, Great Japan (Dai Nippon or Nihon), as its inhabitants term it. What is generally termed Nippon by foreigners may be designated as "the main island."

As time passed, the territory of the invaders increased. The aborigines were pushed further and further, and in the time of the Emperor Seimu (A.D. 131—

Jimmu
Tennô's
territory.

Increase of
territory
under sub-
sequent
rulers.

* The people would put the title *sama* after either. The use of the two words reminds one of the origin of many surnames, such as Sanjô and Tokudaiji, the name of a street and of a temple in which certain Court nobles dwelt; they would be called Sanjô Sama and Tokudaiji Sama, and finally take the names of the places they lived in for their ordinary appellations.—E. S.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

190) the jurisdiction of the ruler had already extended to a line drawn from Sendai Bay to the neighbourhood of what is now the treaty port of Niigata.

Formation
of the class
of kugé.

After the sovereign power had been established for a number of years at Kiôto, the members of the imperial family had considerably increased, and they formed a class of themselves. These are the kugé, or court nobles, so often mentioned in contradistinction to the daimio, or territorial nobles. They all, of course, claimed divine descent, and they occupied the highest offices about the Court.

Govern-
ment a pure
monarchy.

The form of government established by the earlier emperors was a pure monarchy. With the exception of the *fu*, or populous cities, the empire was divided for administrative purposes into *gun*, or districts, and these again into *ken*, which might be translated "prefectures."

Gun-ken.

This was called the *gun-ken* system, and the Emperor was the direct executive head.

Emperor's
loss of
power.
Rise of the
Fujiwara.

But in time came intestine broils and civil wars, and the history of Japan up to the beginning of the 17th century is mostly taken up with their narration. The supreme power gradually slipped out of the hands of the emperors. It first fell into those of the family of Fujiwara, sprung from the imperial house, whose members secured all the high Court offices for themselves; subsequently this family, affecting to despise the arts of war, and sinking into slothful luxury, gave way to military commanders who, from their own personal talent and warlike qualities, raised themselves to a pre-eminence not always maintained by their descendants; these latter then became instruments in the hands of other chiefs, who, under the guise of advisers, usurped their master's places, and

Military
command-
ers.

Often be-
came in-
struments
of other
chiefs.

encouraged them in a life of enervating sensuality. Thus one house fell, and another rose upon its ruins, and there were times when, as will hereafter appear, the real power of the State was possessed by the minister of the shôgun, or general, who lived at Kamakura or at Yedo, hundreds of miles from the Emperor's capital. That "son of heaven," however, was still the fountain of honour; his Majesty, although often but a child a few years old, still dispensed ranks and dignities, and the ownership of the soil always in reality resided in him. The popular belief being that the Emperor was descended from the gods, the whole nation looked upon him as their master, to whose edicts they were bound to pay blind obedience.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

The real power sometimes in the minister of the shôgun.

Emperor always the fountain of honour.

The state of Japan, from early times and during the troubled period, has been well depicted by an able writer in one of the best edited papers in Berlin, *Die Gegenwart*.* Three articles appeared in the beginning of 1873, and in the third of them, after remarking that it lay in the interest of the imperial dynasty to render the difference between the free warrior and the enthralled peasant still more sensible from above than it had been, the writer continues as follows:—

Article from *Die Gegenwart*, on the state of Japan.

"What had first only been an unconscious feeling, more or less common to all people, to look upon the chieftains of tribes and heroes as descendants of the gods, became soon a principle of the State; the divine descent of the Mikado and his own divinity became the principal articles of faith of the Japanese religion and policy, and out of the ruins of the old independent tribes there arose a thoroughly theocratic government

* Edited by Dr. Paul Lindau.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

embracing the whole land. It is, however, striking that, notwithstanding the materials at hand, a division was not accomplished there, as almost everywhere else, into the classes of priests and warriors, but, as in China and Corea, in the place of these two castes, those of civil and military officials, the court nobility and the nobility of the sword, appeared.

“The further development is entirely similar to that of the European, and most particularly of the German, middle ages. The sword alone could create, the sword alone preserve ; above all, highly honoured, but without any actual power, stood the Emperor ; and oftentimes not one, but two, which occasioned the most obstinate wars, although each party were from the beginning agreed to obey the ruler appointed by themselves only as far as it suited them. Under the Emperor the great and small nobility fought for possession and power. It was a fight of all against each and each against all, in which the falling families prepared the ground for new after-growth, and in which, out of the coarseness and moral degeneration engendered by protracted civil wars in a still higher degree than by wars between nations, one compensating quality alone shone forth, the fidelity of the vassals to their lords, preferring death to desertion and shame. Money had to be obtained by robbery and contribution, and where that did not suffice, the great merchant, the Court Jew of the middle ages, appeared, who gave money to his Prince at high interest and for goods, and was rewarded for the same with land. The lower classes, the country people, were there only to be plundered and oppressed, and it cannot therefore be wondered that commerce and agriculture were ruined, and that the peasant preferred to follow the drum and

himself to burn and rob, to seeing the work of months become, in a few hours, the prey of flames or the booty of cunning hordes. To the Church too was reserved to play a part in the wars of the Japanese middle ages, not so very different from that which she played in Germany. Notwithstanding much bloody persecution, Buddhism had succeeded in obtaining a firm footing in Japan, and although its doctrines were never able to excite the people to a religious war, still its priests were able to acquire power and lands, and were not enemies or allies to be wholly despised. Many a Buddhist abbot rode armed and equipped at the head of his men, and the monks of the convent Hiyeizan have more than once taken a decisive part in the political wars of these times."

The following summary (in Book I.), mostly drawn from the *Nihon Gwaishi*, will, it is hoped, prove a help to the reader in judging of the later events which it is more particularly the business of this work to record.

BOOK I.



CHAPTER I.

The Emperor originally Commander-in-Chief—Civil and Military Officials—One-third of the Males become Soldiers—Rise of the Fujiwara, who monopolize all the high Offices—They become Effeminate—The Hei and Gen—Severance of Military and Agricultural Classes—Rise of the “Warriors”—By the 12th century, the Military class rule the land, but the Imperial prestige remains.

IN the earliest ages of the history of Japan both the civil and the military power was wielded by the Emperor. The whole people were soldiers, and the “son of heaven” was their commander-in-chief. There was no special class of generals, nor was there a distinct military class. The Emperor himself, or one of his family, led out his troops to battle, so that this charge was only committed to members of the imperial house. The power thus remained with the sovereign, who was able to maintain his authority over the nation.

Subsequently the officials were divided into civil and military, according to the Chinese system. A class of generals was created, commanders of the six guards or household troops were appointed, and the war-office became one of the eight departments of

CHAP.
I.
Emperor
command-
er-in-chief.

Civil and
military
division of
officials.

State. The able-bodied males of each province were divided into three parts, one of which consisted entirely of soldiers. The *dan*, or legion, was composed of 1000 men, and contained four subdivisions. There was a legion in each department of those provinces which, by their remote position, were more liable to attack. Whenever a warlike expedition was undertaken, orders were sent to the provinces along the line of march, to await the imperial commission, and to compare it with the muster-rolls. Each expedition was under the command of a shôgun, or general, and there were also fuku shôgun,* or lieutenant-generals, and other inferior officers. Three such corps were commanded by a tai shôgun, or generalissimo. Thus, when troubles broke out, an army could be placed in the field on the shortest notice by the simple issue of the Emperor's commission, whilst, on quiet being restored, it was dissolved into the elementary subdivisions of five men, called *go*.† The generals, who had usually been taken from the ranks of the civil officials, laid by their armour and their helmets, and returned to their previous functions.

Fujiwara
monopo-
lized the
high offices
of State.

By degrees a certain family called Fujiwara, of semi-divine origin,‡ began to exercise the administrative power in the Emperor's name. They kept increasing their influence by marrying their daughters

* There is no plural in the Japanese language.

† Two *go* formed a *kua*; five *kua* a *tai*; two *tai* a *riô*; ten *riô* a *dan*.

‡ Kamatari, the founder of the Fujiwara family, regent of the empire under Kôtoke Tennô, 645-9 (*vide* Klaproth's translation of the Ôdai Ichiran, p. 47), was reputed to be the twenty-first in descent from Ame-no-ko-yane no Mikoto, who came down from heaven as a servant of Ninigi no Mikoto, great grandfather of Jimmu Tennô.—E. S.

to the sovereigns, and they appointed younger brothers, sons, or other members of the family to all the high offices of State. The highest office was that of kuambaku * or regent, which became hereditary in the Fujiwara, and these regents ultimately became all-powerful. They obtained the privilege of opening all petitions addressed to the sovereign, and of presenting or rejecting them at their pleasure. In this way, having arrogated in time of peace all the titles and honours of the Court to their own kin, the Fujiwara placed a barrier between the sovereign and his subjects, high descent was the only qualification for office, and unfitness for functions was not regarded in the choice of officials. The author of the *Nihon Gwaishi* remarks with respect to this family: "They chiefly laboured to establish the position of their own kindred, and did not take the slightest interest in the welfare of the State. When it came to a struggle for power, neither father, son, elder brother, nor younger brother assisted each other, but they vied in base flattery, and naturally enough the whole Court imitated them. Is it not to be regretted that this should have been the cause of the great civil wars, which ended in their being cast down and ruined together with the imperial house, leaving but an empty name behind?"

And placed
a barrier
between
Emperor
and people.

* Kuambaku = *adzukari mōsu*, to be charged with and represent (to the Emperor). The Sessho, or regent, became kuambaku when the Emperor attained his majority. The Fujiwara family became divided into five branches, called the Sekké or Regent families, viz. Konoyé, Kujō, Nijō, Ichijō, and Takadzukasa. The title, together with the privileges once attaching thereto, was abolished in 1868. When the kuambaku retired and was succeeded by his son, he took the title of taikō. If he became a Buddhist monk, he was known as the zenkō.—E. S.

CHAP.
I.Fujiwara
became
effeminate.Others ap-
pointed as
generals.The Hei
and Gen.Severance
of military
and agri-
cultural
classes.

The Fujiwara, then, had the monopoly of civil offices. But when it came to fighting they had to depend upon others. Too luxurious and effeminate to don their armour themselves, and to take the field in times of emergency when military services were required, they delegated the task of chastising rebels, or those whom they termed barbarians, to others, and it became the custom to confer the office of general, or shôgun, upon members of particular families, such as the Taira or Hei,* and the Minamoto or Gen, both of whom originally sprang from the imperial house. It was then that first arose the expression "military class."

As time wore on, another change was effected. It is manifest that all that portion of the population who were turned into soldiers would not be equally fit for their profession, and hence, towards

* Hei is the Japanese pronunciation of a certain Chinese character, the sound by which the Japanese express the character; Taira is the original Japanese word, to which Hei is equivalent. Similarly with Gen and Minamoto.

The Taira family sprang from the Emperor Kuammu (782—805). One of his twelve extra wives, Tahiji Kurémuné, bore four sons, of whom the eldest was Prince Katsuhara, a talented man, who rose to be Shikibukiô, an office to which princes of the blood were appointed, and to whom were entrusted the directions as to Court ceremonies and the order of precedence. He was thus a species of lord high chamberlain. His grandson Takamochi received the surname of Taira, and may be considered the founder of the family. His descendants for generations were military vassals of the crown.

The Minamoto family sprang from the Emperor Seiwa (859—880). One of his attendants, herself a member of the imperial house, bore a certain Prince Tadazumi, who became Hiôbukiô, or minister of war. He had two sons, named Tsunémoto and Tsunénari, to both of whom the surname of Minamoto was granted. The descendants of Tsunémoto were military vassals of the crown for many generations.

the end of the eighth century, the Court decided that the useless soldiers should be dismissed, that those among the rich peasants who had sufficient capacity for archery and horsemanship and were most skilled in military exercises should be called out, and that the weak and feeble should apply themselves to agriculture. Thus the military and agricultural classes were completely severed.

CHAP.
I.

During the course of another century the administration of the empire became gradually weaker, and the gulf between the sovereign and his people was considerably widened.

Adminis-
tration
became
weaker.

The military men from the wild northern provinces of Ôshiu and Déwa, and from the eight provinces subsequently denominated the Kuantô,* who, in virtue of their services, had risen to enter the ranks of the six guards and of the Court pages, mostly remained in their native districts and ruled over them, neglecting their duties as members of the permanent garrison at Kiôto. Their military superiors were no longer able to keep them in order, and when this system spread over the country, a class was formed of men who possessed armour and horses, and assumed to themselves the title of "warriors."

Rise of
"warriors."

In the tenth and eleventh centuries this system was more firmly established. Whenever troubles arose, and it was necessary for the Court to interfere, the

Employed
by the
Hei or Gen.

* East of the barrier. The provinces are Musashi, Sagami, Awa, Kadzusa, Shimôsa, Hitachi, Kôdzuké, and Shimotsuké. Anciently, one division of Japan was made by taking the barrier of Ôzaka on the frontier of the provinces of Ômi and Yamashiro as a central point, the region lying on the west, consisting of thirty-three provinces, being called Kuansei, or west of the barrier, and the remaining thirty-three provinces were then called Kuantô.—E. S.

CHAP.
I.

duty of restoring tranquillity was entrusted to one of the two families of Hei and Gen already mentioned. The general who took the field was naturally in want of soldiers, and he had recourse to these so-called "warriors," a number of whom became attached to his service; and, by force of long-continued service, the relation of prince and vassal (*daimiô** and *kerai*) grew up into permanence. Hence every great military man had his regular retainers.

Increase of
the power of
the Hei and
Gen.

At the same time the persistent longing of the Court for peace, and its effeminate and luxurious life, threw a great increase of power into the hands of the houses of Hei and Gen, and the influence of the Emperor was proportionally decreased.

In the twelfth century, the Court appears to have issued injunctions forbidding the warriors of any province to belong either to the Hei or the Gen. But this was of no avail. Nor did the plan which was adopted of making the one family act as a check on the other, and, in case of rebellion by the one, of ordering its chastisement by the other, cure the abuse that had been created. The military power had, in fact, entirely slipped away from the Court, and had become vested in these two powerful houses, and though the Court affected to despise them, as not ranking among the courtiers, but belonging to what it considered the inferior class of soldiers, it is certain that, by the middle of the twelfth century, the military class had become virtually the rulers of the land.

By the
middle of
the twelfth
century,
the mili-
tary class
ruled the
land.

But the
prestige
of the
Emperor
remained.

Still it must never be forgotten by the student of Japanese history that there was a prestige in the imperial person which nothing ever did or ever could

* *Daimiô*, great name, was in reality a term of much later origin, but the relation was similar.—E. S.

abolish. No one permitted himself to doubt his Majesty's descent in an unbroken line from the gods who created and ruled over Japan; he was, as already mentioned, the fountain whence all rank and office flowed. The shôgun, or general, owed his appointment to the Emperor; without a commission from the latter all his acts would be wanting in legality; and, even though he possessed the whole military power in the State, he found himself, when at Court, not even the first of his Majesty's subjects, nor could he, by reason of his office alone, claim the right of gazing on the imperial countenance. Hence it was that, in their wars with each other, the great military commanders were constantly endeavouring to secure the person of the sovereign, so as to clothe their acts with legality, and to make out that their side was the loyal side, and that their adversaries were *chôtéki*, or rebels of the Court.

CHAP.
I.

In war each
side
sought to
secure his
person.

CHAPTER II.

Rise of the Taira or Hei—Kiyomori attains great power.

CHAP.
II.
Kiyomori
of the house
of Hei.

THE most noted personage belonging to the house of Hei was Kiyomori, who flourished in the twelfth century, and raised its influence to the highest pitch. He was the son of Taira no Tadamori,* and was born in this wise. One of the female attendants of the palace, beloved of the ex-Emperor Shirakawa, having had an intrigue with Tadamori, the ex-Emperor bestowed her upon the latter, saying, "If she gives birth to a girl, I will take it. If it is a boy, then my lord shall adopt it as his son." The palace attendant bore a son, who was Kiyomori. Subsequently Tadamori took her to wife, and she bore him two other sons.

Emperor
constantly
changed,
and gene-
rally very
young.

A system had grown up of constantly changing the Emperor, and of conferring the imperial dignity on mere children. This naturally gave the whole power into the hands of others. If we consult the chronological table in a recent native publication, the *Dômô Hitsudoku*, we shall see how often the succession was changed, and how constantly the barren sceptre

* *i. e.* Tadamori of the Taira. *No* is "of."

was in the hands of children. Taking the sovereigns of the above century during the flourishing period of the Taira, we find as follows :—

The Emperor Toba ascended the throne in 1108, at the age of six. He abdicated in 1123 in favour of his son Sutoku, then four years old. The latter abdicated in 1143 in favour of his half-brother Konyé, then four years old. Konyé died in 1155, and was succeeded in 1156 by Go-Shirakawa, another of Toba's sons, and Sutoku's youngest brother, then twenty-nine years old. This Emperor resigned the nominal power three years later to his son Nijô, a youth of sixteen, who died in 1165. His one-year-old son Rokujô succeeded, but was only permitted to reign for three years. The next Emperor was Takakura, then eight years old. Thirteen years later he resigned the throne to his son Antoku, aged three.

Instances
of young
Emperors.

Clearly, therefore, even on the score of age, the real power could not generally be wielded by the actual Emperor, but there were cases where, not being a child, he resigned the empty honour, and kept the real power. History tells us that the Emperor Toba after his abdication retained some influence. Again, after Go-Shirakawa had abdicated, we read that the administration was in the hands of the ex-Emperor. Again, it is said when Rokujô ascended the throne: "The Emperor was young, and the administration was still directed by the ex-Emperor."

The sovereigns had therefore not only lost all their authority through the idle and effeminate life they led, from their ignorance and inability to govern the State, and from the encroachments of the military class, but because they were often mere children, not

Their loss
of power.

CHAP.
II.

old enough to know what power was, and in many cases they were deposed whilst still of tender years.

Kiyomori
becomes the
greatest
military
chief.

Without inquiring here into the circumstances which immediately contributed to the power of the Hei, suffice it to say that Kiyomori, the acknowledged head of the family, distinguished himself by his talents, worsted his enemies and those of the Court, became the greatest military chief in the empire, and rose rapidly in influence and rank. In 1167, the Court conferred upon him the office of daijô daijin,* and he reached the first class of the second rank,†

* Daijô daijin, great minister of the great government; the highest office to which a subject can attain. At present enjoyed by Sanjô Sanéyoshi, formerly a kugé, or Court noble. The next two offices are sadaijin, great minister of the left, and udaijin, great minister of the right. The former is vacant; the latter is held by Iwakura Tomomi, formerly a kugé, head of the special embassy to the treaty powers, which left Japan in December, 1871. There was also a somewhat inferior office to these three, the naidaijin, which was created much later. Mr. Satow states that the four were only filled up once at the same time, namely in the reign of Juntoku (1211-1227), and that since then the highest of them has seldom been bestowed on any person during his lifetime. Posthumous honours were often granted by the Emperor. The rank of the sa, u, and naidaijin was but slightly different, and they were of equal authority.

† This refers to rank at Court. Every official, from the ministers of State down to the lowest clerks, had, under the ancient mikados, a certain rank attaching to his office, which was independent of birth or age. All questions of precedence at Court were settled in accordance with this rank. These ranks, together with the ancient titles of offices at the Court, continued to be granted to daimios and to vassals of the shôgun, up to the latest times. At present a rank of this kind is often granted without its being attached to any office, and offices are held frequently by persons whose rank is inferior to their office. The arrangement was borrowed from China by the Empress Suiko, A. D. 604.

with other high privileges. It is true that the Fujiwara still held many empty titles, but Kiyomori was virtually the sovereign, even after he had shaved off his hair and become a monk. This, however, was nothing extraordinary; it was a custom often adopted by the highest personages, without giving up their power.* In 1168 it is said that there were more than sixty members of the house of Hei holding offices at Court, and their domains extended over more than thirty provinces.

1168. More than sixty of the Hei hold offices at Court.

In 1171 Kiyomori "promoted" his daughter Tokuko to be *niogo*, the Emperor Takakura being

Kiyomori promoted his daughter to be the Emperor's second wife.

Twelve ranks were formed, distinguished by the appellations virtue, benevolence, &c., and by the colours of the caps worn by those to whom they were granted. Subsequently the system was altered to one more closely resembling that of China, by creating nine ranks, corresponding to the nine buttons, and subdividing these nine ranks again. Each of the first three, called first rank, second rank, and third rank, was divided into principal (*sho*) and secondary (*jiu*), but the principal first rank was reserved as a reward to be granted after death to high functionaries who had enjoyed the secondary first rank during their lifetime. The first class of the second rank was called *jo-ni-i*, not *sho-ni-i*; the character is the same, but differently pronounced in this case. The next ranks, from the fourth to the eighth, were divided into principal and secondary, and these again into superior (*jô*) and inferior (*gé*), thus making four classes of each rank. The ninth rank was called the "commencement rank," being the lowest, was divided into great (*dai*) and small (*sho*), and these again into superior (*jô*) and inferior (*gé*). The whole number was twenty-nine for the living and one for the dead.—E. S.

* Thus in 1169 the ex-Emperor Go-Shirakawa shaved off his hair and took the title of *hō-ō*, or cloistered emperor. *Hō* is literally the law, i.e. the law of Buddha; *ō* is translated emperor. He continued very powerful after he had become a monk. *Jō-ō* was the name of the retired emperor, *daijō-ō* of the elder of the two, when, as frequently happened, there were two retired emperors.—E. S.

then only about eleven years old. Later he made her *chiugu*.*

The position of the head of the Taira family, when at the zenith of his power, is thus defined by the author of the *Nihon Gwaishi* :—

“Kiyomori’s method of proceeding did not differ in the slightest from their (the Fujiwara’s) nepotism, except that he added fierce rapacity thereto. His idea was that, since power and favours had been grasped to such an extent by men who could boast of no particular services, he, who had been in a great measure the creator of the imperial house, could do nothing wrong. The world, seeing his sudden elevation, has united to blame him, and neglects to mention that he had some one for a teacher. It was the Emperor Go-Shirakawa, who, by cherishing and perfecting Kiyomori’s power, caused him to assume such a position. Ranks and titles are public instruments, and ought not to be used for private ends. A subject who uses ranks and titles for his private ends is a traitor to his prince, and a prince who uses ranks and titles for his private ends is a traitor to the sovereigns his predecessors. The Emperor granted the ranks and titles created by the sovereigns his predecessors to Kiyomori in a lavish manner, and Kiyomori profited thereby to attain his private ends. To such a pitch did he carry the disposition to presume on his services in order to obtain rewards from his sovereign, that in the end it

* The *niogo* were the principal concubines of the Emperor, not the second wife, as Klaproth says. The Empress always had to go through this rank, and was then elevated to be *chiugu*, the title of the second wife. In ancient times there was but one empress, called *kôgô*, but the Emperor Kuammu (782—806) commenced the practice of having a second, called *chiugu* (middle palace).—E. S.

became impossible to control him. And who shall blame him ? ”

CHAP.
II.

The house of Hei was thus entrusted with the execution of the ex-Emperor Go-Shirakawa's policy, and the whole administration was in their hands. Kiyomori acted in the most arbitrary manner, even to moving the capital, as well as the emperor of the moment and other members of the imperial family, from one spot to another, at his pleasure.

The Hei carried out the ex-Emperor Go-Shirakawa's policy.

But in 1181, after an illness of seven days, he died at the age of 64, and his son Shigémori, who would have succeeded him, and who was a wise and prudent man, knowing, at times, how to put some restraint on his father's arbitrary conduct, being also dead, Munémori, son of Shigémori, became head of the house.

1181.
Death of Kiyomori. Succeeded by Munémori.

Its glory, however, was paling. Kiyomori, on his death-bed, foresaw the danger, and dreaded the future influence of the rival house of Gen. One of his last speeches is thus recorded :—

Decline of the Hei foreseen by Kiyomori.

“He that is born must necessarily die. Why should I alone (expect to escape) ? Since the period of Biôji * (1159) I have rendered services to the imperial house, and have ruled the empire absolutely. My rank has been the highest to which a subject can attain, and I stand in the relation of grandfather to the Emperor by his mother's side. What should I have to complain of ? What I complain of is that I must die without seeing the head of Minamoto no Yoritomo.†

Death-bed speech of Kiyomori desiring Yoritomo's head.

* When Kiyomori, Shigémori, and their followers defeated Minamoto no Yoshitomo, Fujiwara no Nobuyori, and others in Kiôto, and obtained possession of the imperial palace. This exploit made the power of the Taira family paramount in the empire.

† See next chapter.

CHAP.
II.

After I die do not perform Buddhist rites for me ; do not read the liturgies for me ; but simply cut off Minamoto no Yoritomo's head, and hang it up before my tomb. Let all my offspring and retainers obey my words, and not dare to neglect them."

CHAPTER III.

Decline of the Hei, and Rise of the Gen—Yoritomo—He Found
 Kamakura, obtains the whole Governing Power, and is created
Sei-i-tai-Shôgun—His Administration—Feud with his Brother
 Yoshitsuné, who commits Suicide—His Death.

THE fears of the dead hero, Kiyomori, were destined to be realized. In his speech just recorded, he particularly points to a member of the Minamoto * (Gen) family called Yoritomo, one of the most famous men in Japanese history. The *Nihon Gwaishi* gives many details of his life and doings, and describes how he eventually rose to higher power than even Kiyomori.

CHAP.
III.

Yoritomo.

He was the third son of Yoshitomo, who had unsuccessfully opposed the Heishi in 1159. At that time he was thirteen years old, and went by the appellation of *Onimusha*, or the demon warrior. After Yoshitomo's defeat, as his party were retreating, Yoritomo was separated from his father and elder

His youth.

* Heiké and Genji seem to have been the terms in common use among the people for the Taira and the Minamoto, if we may judge from the titles of the two epics, Heiké Monogatari, and Genji Monogatari. Heishi is what the Heiké are called in the Chinese of the author of the *Nihon Gwaishi*.—E. S.

CHAP.
III.

brother, and wandering about by night, lost his way. A fisherman, recognizing in the boy no ordinary person, gave him a lodging, and dressed him up as a girl. He wrapped Yoritomo's sword in matting, and bearing him on his own shoulder, brought him to Awohaka in the province of Ômi, to the house of one Yenjiu, daughter of the chief functionary of the town, and formerly beloved by Yoshitomo. Yoritomo placed his sword "beard-cutter" in her hands, and departed towards the Kuantô. On his road he fell in with Munékiyo, a commander of the Heishi, who took him prisoner, and sent him back past Yenjiu's gate. A girl of twelve years old, begotten by Yoshitomo, heard of this, and said with tears, "I shall hereafter be subjected to disgrace. I would prefer to follow my brother now, and die." Having thus spoken, she was on the point of running out of the house, when Yenjiu's people stopped her, but afterwards she went out alone and drowned herself.

Taken
prisoner to
Kiôto, and
condemned
to death.

After Yoritomo arrived at the palace of the Heishi, in Kiôto, a day was fixed for his execution. But Munékiyo asked him if he did not wish to live. He replied, "Yes. Both my father and elder brother are dead. Who but I can pray for their happiness in the next world?" Whereupon Munékiyo went to Kiyomori's stepmother, who was called Iké no Ama,* and on her questioning him about Yoritomo, he answered, "He resembles Prince Uma." Now, Uma was the Ama's son, who had died in early youth. So she felt pity for Yoritomo; and after repeated

Saved
through
Kiyomori's
step-
mother.

* Nun of Iké, a place in Isé, which seems to have been the property of her family. She had shaved her head and become a nun, after the death of her husband, Tadamori. Many women did so on becoming widows, as well as on being forsaken by, or after leaving, their husbands. Others were orphans.

entreaties, she persuaded Kiyomori to spare his life, so that the youth was condemned to a punishment one degree less than death, called *yenriu*, or distant exile. He was banished to Hiruga-Kojima, in the province of Idzu. It is related that men who saw him as he journeyed along the road were so struck with his noble countenance, as to remark to each other that the sparing of his life was simply like setting a tiger loose in the fields.

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III.
Condemned
to exile in
Idzu.

All his former retainers but one advised him to shave off his hair, but he took the advice of the one who whispered to him to preserve it, and await future events.

Yoritomo was placed under the surveillance of Itô Sukéchika and Hôjô Tokimasa, men of Idzu, but most of his former retainers revolted from him. Those who still remained faithful, with few exceptions, did not dare to keep up any communication with their master. He is described as being very astute and self-contained, neither betraying joy nor anger in his countenance, of a hardy and enduring nature, respected and beloved by all.

Placed
under sur-
veillance of
Itô Suké-
chika
and Hôjô
Tokimasa.

Yoritomo first lived with the Itô family, and one of the daughters bore him a son. The stepmother of the girl informed Sukéchika of this, and he, fearing to be suspected by the Heishi, threw the boy into the water, married his daughter to some one else, and plotted to take Yoritomo's life. The latter thereupon fled the house, and found refuge with the Hôjô family. Whilst living there, he made inquiries about the daughters of Tokimasa, as to which was the most beautiful. He was told that the eldest was beautiful, whilst the second, who was the issue of the second wife, was not remarkable for personal charms. Upon this,

Lives with
the Itô
family, and
has a son by
one of the
daughters.

His life
being in
danger,
he takes
refuge with
the Hôjô.

Pays his
addresses to
Masago,
Hôjô
Tokimasa's
eldest
daughter.

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taking warning by what had happened to him in the Itô family, and dreading again to be spied upon and denounced by a stepmother, he thought it more prudent to pay his addresses to the one who was not beautiful, so he wrote a letter to her, and gave it in charge to his faithful retainer Morinaga, to be conveyed to the damsel. But Morinaga thought to himself that the second daughter being plain, Yoritomo's affection for her would not last, and would only lead to misfortune ; so he wrote another letter himself, and substituting it for that given to him by his lord, sent it to the eldest daughter. Now, it happened that in the previous night the second daughter had dreamt that a pigeon came to her carrying a golden box in his beak. When she awoke she imparted this dream to her elder sister, who was so much impressed by it that, after revolving the matter in her mind, she determined, in the language of the chronicler, to buy her sister's dream. Accordingly, she gave her own toilette mirror to her sister, saying to herself, "The price I pay is but little." After having done this, she received the letter sent by Morinaga, and eventually formed a connection with Yoritomo. Her name was Masago, and she was then twenty-one years of age. Their affection became closer every day, but it so happened that as her father Tokimasa, who had been absent on service at Kiôto, was returning home, he met the governor of Idzu, one Kanétaka of the Heishi, and agreed to give him Masago to wife. When he reached home, however, he found that she was on terms of intimacy with Yoritomo ; still, as it was impossible for him to break his promise to Kanétaka, he pretended to be ignorant as to how matters stood, and married her to the latter. But Masago eloped

Return of
Tokimasa,
who
marries
Masago to
another.

Masago and
Yoritomo
elope.

that same night with Yoritomo, and abode with him in the mountains of Idzu, and Kanétaka searched for them in vain. Tokimasa, who had a high opinion of Yoritomo's talents, though professing outwardly to be greatly wroth at his conduct, made friends with him in secret, and they entered into a solemn compact of mutual trust, which was destined before long to bear fruit, and to raise the fortunes of the Genji and the Hôjô.

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III.

Compact
between
Tokimasa
and
Yoritomo.

Now, in the year 1180 Prince Mochihito, second son of the cloistered Emperor Go-Shirakawa, was invited to take the side of the Genji, and certain orders were sent by him to the different clansmen, a separate letter being despatched to Yoritomo, who was recognized as head of the family. Kiyomori, hearing that the Genji were conspiring against him, conceived the design of exterminating the clan. Yoritomo, on his side, was greatly delighted on receiving the prince's order, and secretly planned with Tokimasa to take up arms. He gave out that he had received orders to administer the Kuantô, and he began to seek for adherents. His first attempts were not successful, and he was defeated on Mount Ishibashi, near the famous Hakoné pass, known to all foreign residents in Japan. He is said to have escaped with one of his retainers by climbing up a precipice, and hiding himself. After that he lay concealed in the mountains at Hakoné, in a Buddhist priest's house. But being even in danger of assassination there, at the hands of the priest's younger brother, he fled away, and took ship for the opposite shore of the province of Awa. On this voyage he met with a vessel full of men in armour, and they fortunately turned out to be friends belonging to a certain family called Miura. So they

1180. Prince
Mochihito
espouses
the side of
the Genji.

Sends an
order to
Yoritomo.

Yoritomo's
conspiracy,
defeat, and
flight.

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all landed together in Awa, and Yoritomo sent proclamations far and wide, calling upon men to join him. His army gradually increased, for the Genji had many adherents, and, marching on, he crossed the Sumida, one of the rivers which flow through modern Yedo, not then built. He was now joined by men of rank in the provinces of Musashi and Sagami, and entering Kamakura, erected it into a seat of military government. This place, as will be seen, soon became the most important in Japan, not perhaps even excepting Kiôto, the residence of the Emperor. Yoritomo then organized the officers of all ranks, and, taking the command himself, finally marched westwards, with a view to anticipate the attack of the Heishi. His army increased rapidly, officers with their adherents joining him from the eight provinces of the Kuantô,* and he encamped on the left bank of the Fujikawa,† the Heishi occupying the right bank. No battle, however, took place, as the Heishi retreated, and Yoritomo returned to Kamakura, being joined by his younger brother Yoshitsuné.‡

* The *Nihon Gwaishi* puts the number of his horsemen-at-arms at over 200,000, but it is always well to cut off a cypher, at least, in these cases.

† Falls into the sea near Fujisan, the mountain generally called Fusi-yama by foreigners.

‡ Yoritomo had six younger brothers, and Yoshitsuné was the youngest of all. Yoshitomo's mistress, Tokiwa, had borne him three sons, Imawaka, Otowaka, and Ushiwaka. After his defeat, search was made for them in vain by the Heishi. They then arrested Tokiwa's mother, and Tokiwa gave herself up. Kiyomori was delighted with her beauty, and she eventually became his mistress. He then pardoned the three children, who became monks. But Ushiwaka did not shave his head, and on arriving at man's estate he took the name of Yoshitsuné. He is said to have been small of stature, but of a very fiery nature, fair in face, with protruding teeth.

In the 12th month of the Japanese year (early part of 1181), as it is written, Yoritomo's new residence being completed, he removed to it, and dwelt there. He allotted houses to more than 300 officers. He selected eleven sturdy warriors, who were on duty in his bedchamber every night, and in this way he provided for his own safety.

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III.
1181. He is
established
at
Kamakura.

It was in the spring of 1181 that Kiyomori died, just as his youthful rival was consolidating his strength at his new abode in Kamakura.

The tide had now turned, and the arms of the Genji became gradually triumphant. Among the men of mark who had risen in support of Yoritomo was his cousin Yoshinaka, whose father had been killed by the Heishi when he was himself young. The result of much fighting was the entrance, in 1182, of Yoshinaka and Yoritomo's youngest uncle Yukiie into Kiôto, after having completely defeated the Heishi. Subsequently, however, they became jealous of Yoritomo, who sent Yoshitsuné and another brother to attack Yoshinaka. The latter was defeated and killed by an arrow.

Triumph of
the Genji.

1182.
Yoshinaka
and
Yukiie
enter
Kiôto.

Not to dwell too long on the events which followed, it will suffice to record the continued success of Yoshitsuné against the Heishi. In 1184 their palace at Fukuwara* was burnt, and Munémori, son of Kiyomori, and their recognized head, fled away by sea to the province of Sanuki in the island of Shikoku, carrying with him the youthful Emperor Antoku and his suite. But Yoshitsuné with others of the Genji pursued them, defeated their forces in Sanuki, and after burning the castle at Yashima, drove them away to the

Yoshitsuné's
success against
the Heishi.

* The treaty port of Hiôgo occupies part of its site at the present day.—E. S.

CHAP.
III.1185.
Vanquished
at Dan-
noûra.Emperor
Antoku
drowned.

Straits of Shimonoséki. There, at Dannoûra (1185), in a great naval battle, the Taira were annihilated. The *Nii no ama** jumped into the sea with the Emperor Antoku, a child of five years old, and they were drowned; many men of rank were killed, or committed suicide, and among the prisoners was Munémori, who was conducted to Kamakura, and afterwards decapitated on his way under guard to Kiôto, at Shinowara, in the province of Ômi, a post station on the Nakasendô.† Yoritomo then sent his father-in-law, Hôjô Tokimasa, to the capital, to search out and exterminate the seed of the Heishi, and a great number of youths of that family were consequently put to death.

The Heishi
decimated.Remnant
escape to a
wild dis-
trict in
Kiushiu,
where their
descendants
are said
still to
exist.

The remnant of the Heishi, who escaped at Dannoûra, fled into the island of Kiushiu, and their descendants are said to exist there at the present day. When I was about to travel in that island at the end of 1870, a high functionary at Yedo cautioned me respecting the country belonging to the Prince of Higo. He said that the clansmen were still a rough, obstinate set, and that there was a scarcity of food in many parts. He particularly mentioned one district in the mountains which he said was inhabited by men who were the descendants of the Heishi, and had betaken

* Tokiko, Kiyomori's wife, who had become a nun. This was natural, as Kiyomori had become a monk. *Nii*, i.e. *ni* two, and *i* rank, the same rank which, divided into two classes, *jô nii* and *jin nii*, was conferred on men. The practice of giving ranks to women was commenced by Jitô Tennô (an empress, 690—705). *Nii no ama* was probably the appellation given to her by the common people.—E. S.

† Road of the central mountains. One of the great roads between Kiôto and Yedo. A rough stone marks his grave under a group of two pine-trees and a withered cryptomeria without any inscription. In the pond close by, his head is said to have been washed after decapitation.—E. S.

themselves thither after their defeat in the Straits of Shimonoséki. He mentioned three villages, Gokanosho, Mera, and Nasu, and said that the inhabitants lived by hunting, and were a wild set who would allow no stranger in their territory; that when he was governor of Nagasaki, as they were in his district, he made an attempt to visit them, but they refused him entrance, and he only saw the mayor of one of the villages. These men have thus kept themselves apart from the rest of Japan for nearly 700 years. They are said to number about five hundred souls, and to subsist by selling the skins of the animals which they kill, procuring with the proceeds rice and a few other necessities. The author of the *Guaishi* quaintly remarks:—

“I once went westward on an excursion to Nagato,* passed by Dannoûra, saw the place where the Taira family was overthrown and destroyed, and went on further to Higo, where I heard that that province contained the mountains of Goka. The valleys are deep and the mountains are high where the Taira are said to have hidden themselves. Their descendants exist to the present day, and are said not to mix with the world outside. The crimes of the Heishi against the imperial family were atoned for by their services, and heaven therefore would not cut off their posterity. And this probably was right.”†

It is but just to add that I was most hospitably entertained by the Prince of Higo at his castle town of Kumamoto, after having crossed the island through his country without let or hindrance, although no foreigner

* Or Chôshiu, which is the Chinese name for Nagato, by which both that province and the daimio of Hagi in Nagato are usually designated.—E. S.

† See also Dickson's "Japan," pp. 117, 118.

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III.

The Genji
are para-
mount.
Yoritomo is
jealous of
Yoshitsuné,
and a feud
ensues, end-
ing in the
suicide of
Yoshitsuné.

had been seen there for centuries, and it was only when nearing the capital that I found an escort of soldiers waiting to accompany me through the streets, and to protect me whilst I remained as the prince's guest.

The house of Gen was now paramount. But Yoritomo became jealous of Yoshitsuné's success, and would not receive him at Kamakura when he came to present the prisoners. This jealousy terminated in a feud, blood was shed, and finally Yoshitsuné, finding escape from his brother's troops impossible, slew his wife and children with his own hand, and then committed suicide. This was in the year 1189, and Yoshitsuné was only 31 years old. Such shameful treatment of his heroic blood-relation, by whose prowess in arms his enemies had been completely vanquished, is a great stain on Yoritomo's career, and there seems to be nothing to palliate it.

Yoritomo's
measures to
establish
his power at
Kamakura.

I will now turn to the measures taken by Yoritomo to establish his power at Kamakura.

Towards the end of the year 1184 it is recorded that he created the *kumonjo* (afterwards called *mandokoro*), a sort of council of State, at which the affairs of his territory were discussed by his chief advisers, and which had the care of all public documents relating thereto. The president was a certain Oyé no Hiromoto, and through this channel the orders of the administration were conveyed. He also founded the *monchiusho*, a tribunal by which robbers and other criminals were tried, and which also undertook the discovery of lost property belonging to the ruler. By this tribunal actions at law were determined. He issued the following order to the officers:—"In all matters concerning the military class the wishes of the cloistered Emperor shall be obeyed. If any man ob-

ject to aught, let him quietly memorialize." He then reported to the Emperor, saying, "The empire is now but half tranquillized, and the various taxes are insufficient. I beg your Majesty to select governors of provinces, and to soothe and reassemble the scattered people. Let all the warriors of the capital and of the home provinces* who draw the bow follow Yoshitsuné westward to chastise the Heishi. Submit to your servant the duty of determining the rewards to be given to those who perform distinguished actions. Entrust also to your servant the duty of prohibiting the priests from wearing arms, and of confiscating the weapons of such as offend therein."

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After the victory of Dannoura, Yoritomo again memorialized the Emperor, praying that five men of his familyname might be made *kami* or governors of as many provinces. The granting of this petition was a great step towards concentrating the power in the hands of Yoritomo, because it had not hitherto been the custom to appoint any but civilians from the Court to the offices of governor and vice-governor of a province. Yoshitsuné was then made *kami* of Iyo by special decree.

Obtains appointments as governors of provinces for five of his family name.

Then came the feud with Yoshitsuné, and Oyé no Hiromoto proposed a plan of action, saying, "The universal commotion has now been put down, and the Kuantô reposes tranquilly under the administration of its military chief. But wicked ruffians lie concealed in every circuit, who rise as often as they are put down. The labour and expense of calling out the eastern

* Gokinai, five provinces round Kiôto, commonly called Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Senshiu, and Setsu. In the third century the Empress Jingô, after returning from her victories in Corea, divided Japan into five home provinces and seven circuits, in imitation of the Corean arrangement.—E. S.

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III.

Proposal to
appoint
from
Kamakura
military
men as
shiugo and
jitô.

forces is incalculable, and the people groan under the burdens laid upon them. The best plan which could be adopted at the present moment would be to place *shiugo* with the *kokushiu*, and *jitô* with the *shôyen*. Then the empire will be quiet without your having to move."

The *shiugo*
gradually
usurped the
whole
power and
expelled
the civil
authority.

These terms require explanation. According to Mr. Satow's note, the word *shiugo* means literally "protector." One of these officers was appointed to each province, and received one-fiftieth of the assessed yearly rental of all the lands as his salary. He resided at the provincial capital, and had joint authority in all matters of administration with the original head-official, the *kokushiu*,* who was a civilian, whereas the *shiugo* was a fighting man. As was no doubt intended, the military *shiugo* gradually usurped the whole authority, and eventually expelled the civilian, and the great *kokushiu daimiô*, who existed during the Tokugawa dynasty, and down to these latter days, ruling over whole principalities, such as those of Satsuma, Chôshiu, Tosa, &c., in a semi-independent manner, were their successors and representatives. *Shôyen*, literally "villages and gardens," were departments or smaller districts exempt from the jurisdiction of the *kokushiu*, or civilian provincial government. And it was proposed that the heads of these lands, the *jitô*, should be appointed from Kamakura. They would also be military men, and each *tan*, or about a quarter of an acre of land, would supply a certain quantity of rice for the maintenance of the troops under the command of the *jitô*.

* *Kokushiu* seems sometimes to be used for "the governor," sometimes for "the government;" the latter is the etymological meaning.—E. S.

These propositions were naturally pleasing to Yoritomo, and in despatching his father-in-law, Hôjô Tokimasa, to command the garrison at the Emperor's capital, he took advantage of the opportunity to have them laid before his Majesty. He also asked leave to levy a tax of five *shô* * per *tan* throughout the home provinces, and the four western and southern circuits, to provide food for the troops. Now, these provinces and circuits made up the Kuansei or west of the barrier, and Yoritomo had already the actual possession of the Kuantô, which in those days meant the whole country east of the barrier near Zézé, in the province of Ômi. He also proposed that those of his relations who had performed meritorious services should be appointed *shiugo* and *jîtô* in different parts of the empire, and that he should himself have them under his orders.

The Court discussed and adopted these propositions, and thus the whole governing power of the empire remained in the hands of Yoritomo at Kamakura.

After the death of Yoshitsuné, Yoritomo undertook a campaign against the northern provinces of Mutsu and Déwa, in order to punish Fujiwara no Yasuhira for having harboured his younger brother. The campaign was successful, and tranquillity being now restored throughout the empire (1190), the victorious general determined to go to court. During his stay at Kiôto he was treated with marked distinction by the cloistered and reigning emperors, and he returned

CHAP.
III.

Yoritomo
sends
Tokimasa
to lay these
propositions
before the
Emperor.

The Court
agrees, and
the whole
governing
power re-
mains with
Yoritomo.

1190 He
tranquil-
lizes the
north.

* A *shô*, according to Hepburn's Dictionary, contains 109,752 cubic inches, or a little more than 1 quart, 1 pint, and $\frac{1}{2}$ gill imperial measure. The *shô* is one-hundredth of a *koku* (10 *shô* = 1 *to*, 10 *to* = 1 *koku*). A *tan* ($\frac{1}{4}$ acre) of good rice land produces on an average $2\frac{1}{2}$ *koku* of rice.—E. S.

CHAP.
III.

1192. Death
of cloistered
Emperor
Go-Shira-
kawa.

Yoritomo is
created sei-
i-tai-
shōgun.

to Kamakura, if possible, more powerful than ever.

In 1192 the cloistered Emperor Go-Shirakawa, who had retained much power during many successive reigns, died ; and subsequently, in the same year, the reigning Emperor issued a decree creating Yoritomo *sei-i-tai-shōgun* (barbarian-subjugating-great-general). Although this title was first given to Yoritomo, its elements existed previously, as will be seen in the learned note given below.*

* From the Shoku-gen-shō. The subjugation of barbarians began with Yamato-daké no Mikoto. There are notices here and there in the old histories of generals being despatched whenever war broke out. Previously to the establishment of the Chinjiufu (in Ōshiu), the subjugators of the east were either Azéshi or Chinjiufu shōgun. Since the time of Fumiya no Nishikimaro, the title of sei-i-shōgun has existed. The writer conjectures that as there was already a general (shō) in the Chinjiufu, the title of sei-i was added whenever an additional general was sent. Sakanouyé no Tamura-maro was styled sei-tō-Shōgun (generalissimo for the subjugation of the east). When Taira no Masakado rebelled, Fujiwara no Tadamichi Ason, sangi and uyémon no kami, was appointed *sei-tō-shōgun*, commander-in-chief for the subjugation of the east. His younger brother Nakanobu and Minamoto no Tsunémoto set out as fuku-shōgun. For a long period subsequently to this the title of sei-i fell into disuse. When Minamoto no Yoshinaka Ason went up to the capital (in 1182. See *Gwaishi*). He was Yoritomo's cousin), and for a short time held the military power, he was appointed sei-i-shōgun. Subsequently, when Minamoto no Yoritomo Kiō resigned his two offices of gon-dai-nagon and ukonyei no taishō, and returned to the eastern provinces (vide *Gwaishi*), an imperial decree was issued appointing him sei-i-tai-shōgun, after which time in succession Yoriyê Ason held this office too from the time when he became shōshō. Sanétomo Kiō held it from the time when he became daijin. After this family became extinct, Fujiwara no Yoritsuné went down, and, after his assumption of manhood, was appointed to this office. His son Yoritsugu Kō also received this appointment. After Prince Munétaka, the Nakadzukasa Kiō, went down, four generations of princes of the blood received the appointment.

But Yoritomo was not destined to enjoy this last distinction many years. The *Nihon Gwaishi* says: "In the 12th month of the 9th year (1198-9) Inagé Shigénari repaired the bridge on the Sagami river, and Yoritomo went in person to celebrate the completion of the works. On his way back he fell from his horse, and was laid up. In the first month of the following year he died, at the age of 53. Yoritomo took up arms at the age of 33, and in six years annihilated the Heishi. At the time of his death he had held the military power of the empire in his hands during fifteen years."

CHAP.
III.

His death.

It may seem extraordinary that Yoritomo was enabled to obtain the control of the whole military power of the empire in so short a time. But, as can be seen from the *Gwaishi*, the foundations of that power had been already laid by his ancestors, particularly by two of them, called Yoriyoshi and Yoshiyê. These men established order in the north and east, and afforded protection to the inhabitants during a period of fifteen years, whilst the imperial Court affected to know nothing of their doings. When they reported their achievements, and prayed that rewards

Reasons of
Yoritomo
obtaining
the whole
governing
power in so
short a time.

When the country was re-united in Genkô (1321—1333, under Go-Daigo), Moriyoshi Shinnô Hiôbukiô held the appointment for a short time. Nariyoshi Shinnô, Kôdzuké no taishiu, held it subsequently. In the third year of Kemmu (1336, during the contest between the northern and southern branches of the imperial family) the title was abolished.

(The book from which this extract is made was compiled between 1340 and 1346 by Minamoto no Chikafusa for the use of the legitimate Emperor, Go-Murakami, who lived at Yoshino, Kiôto being in possession of Ashikaga Takauji, who had set up Kôgon, as a rival to Go-Daigo, predecessor of Go-Murakami. This accounts for his saying that the Shôgunate no longer existed).—E. S.

CHAP.
III.

Yoritomo's
original
idea only to
hold the
Kuantô or
Idzu.

But
numerous
adherents
and some
courtiers
joined him.

might be conferred on their officers and men, the Court put them off with delays, and even withheld the imperial commission from them, so that their wars were denominated *private feuds*, and they had to recompense their warriors by gifts of land in their own names. In this way the Court renounced the right of putting down the rebellious, and of apportioning rewards and punishments, and gave it to the Genji, so that the warriors of the north and east ended by saying that they would rather revolt against the son of heaven than betray the Genji. If we are to believe the author of the *Gwaishi*, Yoritomo's original idea was only to hold a small portion of country. Rai Sanyo relates that, according to the old histories, when the young hero fled from Itô's house, as already recounted, he congratulated himself in his heart, saying, "I hope I may succeed in becoming Lord over the eight provinces of the Kuantô, or if not, that I may still possess Idzu, so that I may have the means of avenging myself on the Itô family." But the small chieftains, men of more or less local importance, who had always been the adherents of the Genji, eagerly joined him when he raised his standard, and they helped to fight his battles. He also won to his side servants of the Court, clever men disappointed in the objects of their ambition, and they aided him in matters where his own resources and means were inadequate, and he was thus enabled, at a time when the authority of the throne had fallen lowest, to spread his devoted adherents all over the country like the pieces on a chess-board, and to control their actions from Kamakura.

The author considers that, although Yoritomo's talents would of themselves have sufficed to bring

him into a position from which he could threaten and constrain the sovereign and people, the actual result, whereby the governing power centred in him, was brought about by the progress of events, and that the real source of his success was the good fortune deserved by his ancestors, but not enjoyed by them. "I heard once," says Rai Sanyo, "from a certain Court noble, that, when Kamakura became a power, some members of the Oyé and Miyoshi families, who had secretly in their possession the records of the internal revenue department, went over to him. One can see from this the direction which men's sympathies took. The imperial house itself cast away its authority, and was unable to recover it. In whom were the people to put their trust? Hereupon a scion of the imperial race, who was competent to undertake its duties, took its place and exercised its powers, becoming the administrator of the empire. This was an unavoidable consequence of events. The Genji, who were the descendants of the Emperor Seiwa, served their princes diligently for generations down to Yoritomo, who settled the country after many toils, and first established the great scheme by which a small measure of tranquillity was assured to the empire. But," the author adds, "he never ventured to overstep the proper limit, and his acts were full of reverence for the sovereign." That is, when Yoritomo made appointments, such as, for instance, of governors of provinces, he took care to obtain the imperial sanction for the same. He did not attempt to depose the Emperor, or to assume his Majesty's title, but he administered the empire as it seemed good to him, in the name and with the authority of the *fainéant* at Kiôto, whose sanction, never refused, clothed his acts

CHAP.
III.

Result due
much to
progress of
events and
deeds of his
ancestors.

Yoritomo
always ob-
tained the
Emperor's
sanction for
his appoint-
ments.

CHAP.
III.

with legality. Thus the relations of prince and vassal between the son of heaven,* and the shôgun were considered to be kept perfect.

* It may be mentioned that heaven (*ten*, in Pekingese *tien*) is a Chinese idea. Mr. Meadows, in "The Chinese and their Rebellions," p. 16, talks of it as that supreme ruling power or providence of which the Chinese, from the most ancient times up to the present day, have always had a more or less lively conception under the name of *teen*, or heaven.—E. S.

CHAPTER IV.

1199—1333.

Yoritomo's two Successors are Fainéants—Fall of the Minamoto—Succeeded by young and effeminate Shôguns—The Hôjô wield the Power for Seven Generations—Destruction of Kamakura by Nitta Yoshisada—Fall of the Hôjô.

It has been seen that the whole country had been reduced to tranquillity by the strong arm of Yoritomo, and that he virtually ruled the empire from Kamakura. But it depended upon the personal character of his sons and successors whether they could maintain the same power and authority. Now, it will be recollected that Yoritomo had originally been placed under the care of Tokimasa of the Hôjô family, and had married his daughter Masago. The Hôjô were a rich clan, which had for generations been attached to the Genji; its members had intermarried with them, and they had made their abode at Hôjô in Idzu, whence they took their surname.

CHAP.
IV.

The Hôjô
had been
attached to
the Genji for
generations.

The great confidence placed by Yoritomo in Tokimasa had given the latter an influence in State affairs only second to that of the shôgun. The heir of the latter was Yoriiyé, who, being the son of Masago, was the grandson of Tokimasa. He was born in 1181, and was therefore eighteen years old when his father died.

Influence of
Tokimasa.

Yoriiyé suc-
ceeds Yori-
tomo.

CHAP.
IV.

Masago becomes a nun. She still takes a share in the government.

Yorriyé gives himself up to pleasure.

Tokimasa takes the whole administration.

1201.
Yorriyé becomes shōgun.

1203. He falls ill.

He refuses to resign.

He was at once appointed chief over the *shiugo* and *jitō* throughout the empire. His mother then shaved off her hair and became a nun, but nevertheless continued to take a share in the government. Tokimasa was raised in rank, and being chief of the mandokoro, or council of State at Kamakura, discussed and decided all matters of administration with Oyé no Hiromoto and some ten other members. It is said in the *Nihon Gwaishi* that Tokimasa would not allow Yorriyé to hear causes in person; that the latter merely amused himself with five favourite retainers, and gradually became more and more vicious and self-willed, that, though his mother frequently admonished him, he did not reform, and that Tokimasa affected not to hear or know of his conduct. The head of the house of Hōjō thus took upon himself the whole administration of the empire, and it is not too much to infer that he encouraged Yorriyé in his vicious and idle manner of life.

In the seventh month of the first year of Kennin (1201) Yorriyé finally succeeded to the office of *sei-i-tai-shōgun*, and was raised to the rank of *jiu ni i*. But this increase of office and rank made no difference. Tokimasa continued at the head of the administration, and he had already taken care to fill one-half of the public offices with his kindred and partisans.

In the seventh month of the third year (1203) Yorriyé fell ill, and his mother took counsel with Tokimasa to compel him to resign his office, to hand over the superintendence of the *shiugo* to his son Ichiman, and the *jitō* of twenty-eight provinces of the Kuansei to his younger brother Semman. But Yorriyé on hearing of this plan was indignant, and planned the destruction of the Hōjō family. Some blood was shed, Yorriyé's party was worsted, and his son Ichiman and

others lost their lives. The consequence was that Yoriiyé was forced to shave off his hair, was confined in a monastery, and his brother Semman, aged twelve, was declared his successor. Soon after this, Tokimasa sent men to plot against his life, and they, fearing his great bodily strength, waited till he was taking a bath, and then surrounded him, threw a rope round his neck, and killed him. He was but twenty-three years of age. Besides Ichiman, he had two sons, the elder of whom was four years old, was adopted by Semman, and finally made a priest. He was called Kugiô. The second was adopted into another house.

CHAP.
IV.

Forced to
shave his
head, and
confined in
a monas-
tery.

His brother
Semman,
aged 12,
declared
successor.

1204. Killed
by order of
Tokimasa.

Semman succeeded to the office of *sei-i-tai shôgun*. His name was changed to Sanétomo, and his residence was fixed in the palace of the Hôjô family. In 1205 Tokimasa suddenly shaved his head and withdrew into retirement at Hôjô, being then sixty-eight years of age. Eleven years afterwards he died. All military and civil matters were now carried on by his second son, Yoshitohi, the shôgun devoting himself to composing verses and playing at football. He was of an effeminate nature, and preferred the society of women to military pursuits. He advanced rapidly in rank, and was finally appointed udaijin, but in 1219 he was assassinated, at the shrine of Tsurugaoka in Kamakura, by his nephew and adopted son, the priest Kugiô, who had always looked upon Sanétomo as his father's murderer, and had therefore thirsted for revenge upon him. The account in the *Nihon Gwaishi* of the assassination is so characteristic that I here transcribe it.

Semman
becomes
shôgun, and
is called
Sanétomo.

1205. To-
kimasa
retires.

1219. Sané-
tomo assas-
sinated by
his nephew,
the priest
Kugiô.

“In the first month of the first year of Jôkiu he went to pay his respects at the shrine of Tsurugaoka, and the hour of nine at night on the 27th was fixed

MAP.
IV.

by divination. As he was about to start, Hiromoto advanced into his presence and said: 'Your servant has hitherto seldom shed tears, and now he sheds them without knowing any cause. Your servant is filled with dread. When the late taishô * celebrated the completion of Tôdaiji,† he took the precaution of having armour under his clothes. Let my prince imitate this example, and not act rashly.' Minamoto no Nakaakira said: 'Daijin‡ and taishô cannot wear armour.' Hiromoto again besought him to celebrate the ceremony in open daylight. Nakaakira replied: 'To do it by candlelight is the old custom.' As Sanétomo was about to go forth, he made Hada Kinuji comb his hair, and pulling out one hair, gave it to him, saying, with a smile: 'This is my legacy to you.' The high officers of state and others all accompanied him, as well as an escort a thousand strong. Yoshitoki was in attendance, bearing his sword, but as the procession entered the gate of the shrine, he excused himself on the ground of illness, and delivering his sword to Nakaakira, went home. Sanétomo then dismissed the whole of his escort, and took only Nakaakira with him. When the ceremony was over, he bade farewell to the high officers of state, and descended the steps, whereupon a man jumped out from the side of the steps, and, raising his sword, cut off the heads of Sanétomo and Nakaakira, and fled away, bearing the heads with him. The blackest darkness prevailed at the moment, and dire confusion fell upon the company, for no one knew what man

* Yoritomo. There were three honorary ranks of general at the Emperor's court—taishô, chiujiô, and shojiô, literally great, middle, and small general.

† A temple at Nara.

‡ Sanétomo, as already mentioned in the text, was udaijin.

had done it. Then some one shouted in a loud voice saying: 'I am Kugiô. I have taken vengeance on my father's murderer.' All now knew for the first time that Kugiô had done it, and they surrounded his residence. Kugiô, bearing Sanétomo's head in his hand, proceeded direct to the house of one Bitchiu, and took food without losing his hold of the head. The youngest son of Miura Yoshimura was Kugiô's pupil, and the latter consequently sent him on a message to Yoshimura to ask his advice. Yoshimura deceived him by saying, 'I will come with troops to meet him,' but he informed Yoshitoki, who ordered Kugiô to be put to death immediately. Yoshimura thereupon sent Nagao Sadakagé to the spot at the head of five strong warriors. Kugiô had waited a long time for the troops who were to come and meet him, but as they did not arrive, he traversed a high hill at the back of the shrine, and went towards Yoshimura's house. On the way he fell in with the five men, and fought desperately, but Sadakagé took him in flank and cut off his head, which he sent to Yoshitoki. Kugiô was aged nineteen, Sanétomo was twenty-eight years of age. On the following day they buried Sanétomo, but not being able to find his head, they substituted the hair he had left behind. Thus the main line of the Minamoto family came to an end."

Kugiô put
to death.

End of the
main line
of the
Minamoto.

The power, then, founded by Yoritomo and maintained by him personally, was only nominally wielded by his two sons and successors. In those wild days, when might was right, and when military powers and a strong will raised men to the highest posts in the empire, the effeminate youth, whether at Kiôto or Kamakura, who was steeped in the pleasures of the senses,

Yoritomo's
power not
wielded
by his two
effeminate
sons, but by
the Hôjô.

CHAP.
IV.

and delighted to pass his time in playing at the favourite game of football, or in the more sedentary employment of making verses, might still be invested with the outward show of power gained by an illustrious predecessor, but he could not really rule.

Whatever were the natural talents of Yoriyé and Sanétomo, their very education was calculated, and, as has been seen, even purposely calculated, to withdraw these youths from State affairs, and they were never able to tread in the steps of their father. Thus the whole administration fell into the hands of the Hôjô family, who ruled in their name. Hence the empire was, in fact, governed by the ministers of the shôgun at Kamakura, a state of things which continued for some generations.

Fujiwara no
Yoritsuné,
aged two, is
made
shôgun.

After Sanétomo's death, Masago (Yoritomo's widow) asked that Fujiwara no Yoritsuné, a boy of two years old, should be made shôgun. The Court granted this request, the baby was sent from Kiôto to Kamakura, and subsequently raised to the high office of generalissimo for the expulsion of barbarians.

1221. The
ex-Em-
peror Go-
toba is de-
fected by
Yasutoki.

The ex-Emperor Gotoba, however, was jealous of the influence of the Hôjô, and plotted against them, with the view of restoring the governing power to the imperial house. Recourse was had to arms, but the imperialists were defeated by Yasutoki, son of Yoshitoki, and the Hôjô became more arrogant than ever. The *Gwaishi* says: "Hereupon Yoshitoki deposed the Emperor (Juntoku), and set up a son of Prince Sadachika, a grandson of the Emperor Takakura, who became the Emperor Go Horikawa. He then forced the ex-Emperor Gotoba to shave off his hair, and removed him to Oki. He removed the ex-Emperor Juntoku to Sado, and the two princes of the blood to

The Hôjô
depose and
set up em-
perors at
their will.

Tajima and Bizen. The ex-Emperor Tsuchimikado had not joined the conspiracy, and had even remonstrated against it. He was therefore not questioned. He consequently spoke to Yoshitoki, and said: 'How can we bear alone to remain?' In the tenth month he was removed to Tosa, and subsequently to Awa. . . .

The whole of the confiscations amounted to more than three thousand fiefs. Yoshitoki divided them all among the officers who had distinguished themselves on the field of battle, and he did not keep even one for himself. So the power and dignity of the Hôjô family increased day by day. Yasutoki having now destroyed the loyal army (*kuan-gun*), stopped at the capital with Tokifusa, and governed it and the surrounding country in conjunction with him."

CHAP.
IV.

And distribute
lands at
their
pleasure.

Nothing, I think, can give a greater idea of the absolute power of the house of Hôjô at this period than the above extract. They had vanquished the imperialists, Yoshitoki deposed the Emperor, and removed former emperors and members of the imperial family to different parts of the country, according to his own will and pleasure, and taking a large amount of land from the possessors, he distributed it amongst his followers. His son Yasutoki, having, as the *Gwaishi* says, destroyed the "loyal" army, remained at Kiôto, to watch over the interests of the family, and governed it and the surrounding provinces in conjunction with another general.

Yoshitoki died in 1224, and Yasutoki succeeded his father as what may be termed regent of the young shôgun. He divided his father's lands among his eight younger brothers, and kept but little for himself, saying, "I am regent; what more should I desire?" He appears to have been a very able man,

1224. Death
of Yoshi-
toki.
His son
Yasutoki
succeeds as
regent.

CHAP.
IV.

This office was held in the Hôjô for seven generations. They set up and deposed shôguns at will.

Instances.

to have eschewed high rank for himself, and to have governed wisely.

The office of regent to the lord of Kamakura (the shôgun) continued in the Hôjô in all during seven generations. The shôgun's power was still nominal, and the Hôjô set up and deposed one after another in a very arbitrary manner. For instance, Yoritsuné, who had been brought from Kiôto as a baby, had resigned in 1244, in favour of his son Yoritsugû, then six years old. The latter was deposed in 1252 by Hôjô Tokiyori, and sent back to Kiôto under a guard. Tokiyori then sent for and obtained as shôgun, the Prince Munétaka, son of the Emperor Go Saga, and still a youth. In 1266 he, having pretended illness, returned to Kiôto, and was succeeded by his son Koréyasû, who was three years old. In 1289 there was a tumult in the capital of the shôgunate. Hôjô Sadatoki deposed Koréyasû, and, putting him heels upward in a palanquin, sent him under a guard to Kiôto. He then begged for Hisakira, third son of the Emperor Go Fukakusa, and made him shôgun in 1289. He was deposed in 1308 by the Hôjô, who set up in his stead his eldest son Morikuni.

Their power gradually decays.

But as it had been with the emperors, and with the shôguns, so did the power of the Hôjô gradually decay, owing to the youth or want of ability of the later holders of the office of regent.

The Emperor Go Daigo is jealous of them.

The Emperor Go Daigo, who ascended the throne in 1319, at the age of thirty, could not brook the idea that this family, who were vassals of vassals (*i.e.* vassals of the shôguns, who were vassals of the emperors), should, generation after generation, dispose of the throne, and he plotted secretly to destroy them.

Severe fighting took place, the details of which

are hardly of sufficient interest to be related, but eventually Kamakura was burnt by a certain Nitta Yoshisada in 1333, and the house of Hôjô returned into obscurity.

CHAP.
IV.
1333.
Kamakura
burnt by
Nitta
Yoshisada.
Fall of the
Hôjô.

The author of the *Gwaishi* remarks: "The Hôjô family was to that of Minamoto what the Fujiwara family was to the imperial house. Both families possessed themselves of the realm as they sat upon the mats, without being obliged to have recourse to arms." He considers that the Hôjô far excelled the Fujiwara in the capacity for secret intrigue and in cunning; that they secretly grasped and silently stole their power, whilst pretending never to have moved a hand, and that even after having attained their object they still remained only coadjutors and advisers, and did not venture to occupy the seat themselves. They never asked for the title of shôgun, but always obtained some one from Kiôto to fill that office and become the nominal ruler at Kamakura. In this manner they gradually succeeded in making the deposition and elevation of the sovereign and the action of the shôguns entirely dependent on themselves, whilst pretending that these things concerned them not, and that they acted thus in spite of themselves.

Real source
of the
Hôjô's
power.

But, after some seven generations, their power, like that of other families, came to an end.

CHAPTER V.

Rise of Ashikaga Takauji—Founds an hereditary line of Shôguns—Civil War—North and South Emperors.—Ashikaga Shôguns become effeminate—Rise of various Chieftains.

CHAP.
V.

Much of subsequent history meagre and

THE information we as yet possess respecting the history of Japan for many generations from the time of the downfall of the Imperial family is meagre and confused, and will not be long dwelt upon here. When further translations of native historical works have been made by earnest students, it is to be hoped that the gaps may gradually be filled up.

Ashikaga Takauji rises to power.

The Emperor Go Daigo was the real author of the Hôjô's ruin. After the taking of Kamakura by Nitta Yoshisada in 1333, Ashikaga Takauji rose to power. He had left the Hôjô for the Emperor Go Daigo, and subsequently turned traitor to the latter. He became *sei-i-tai-shôgun* in 1336, and was the founder of a line of shôguns with hereditary power. In the order of the day, and two and civil war became the order of the day, and two emperors were set up, called respectively the northern and southern emperors (*Hokuchô* and *Nanichô*). Takauji died in 1356. His son Yoshinori did not rise to be shôgun. Yoshinori died in 1367, and was succeeded by his youthful son Yoshimitsu, who became shôgun, and by means of his minister Yori-

1336. Becomes shôgun. Founds an hereditary line.

Civil war. North and south emperors.

1356. Death of Takauji.

yuki, of the Hosokawa family, gained much glory in fighting the south, and in subjugating portions of the west. In 1392 the Ashikaga sent an emissary to propose peace between the northern and southern dynasties, on the basis of an arrangement similar to that which had formerly existed, namely, that the two branches of the imperial line should occupy the throne alternately. This having been arranged, the southern Emperor, Hironori, came to Kiôto (1393) and surrendered to the northern Emperor, Go Komatsu, both the throne and the regalia. Thus, after a period of fifty-six years, the two dynasties finally became one.

The Ashikaga dynasty produced as usual effeminate shôguns, during whose lives lands were seized in different parts of the country by chiefs of clans and other successful warriors, and appropriated by them. Civil war never ceased, nor did the Ashikaga in reality ever rule over the whole country. Even from the time of Takauji himself they could not keep their retainers in order. We find that the administration was carried on for some time by the Hosokawa and the Uyésugi, who filled the offices of *shikken* at Kiôto, and *kuanrei* in the Kuantô, and virtually ruled either in their own persons or through clever adherents. During the period called Ônin (1467-8) these two families came to blows, and from that moment the influence of the Ashikaga declined. But there was still a shôgun of that house supposed to wield the executive power in the name of the *faînéant* Emperor at Kiôto.

Then Takéda Shingen arose in Kai, Uyésugi Kenshiu in Echigo, Hôjô Ujiyasu in the Kuantô, besides many others, and the confusion became worse confounded.

CHAP.
V.

1502. Feud between the North and South Emperors ceases.

Ashikaga shôguns become effeminate.

Perpetual civil war.

1467-8. The Hosokawa and Uyésugi come to blows.

Rise of other chieftains.

CHAPTER VI.

Nobunaga, 1533—1582.

Obtains the governing power—End of Ashikaga dynasty—Spread of Christianity—Raid on Buddhism—Death of Nobunaga.

CHAP.
VI.

Three
heroes,
Nobunaga,
Hidéyoshi,
and
Iyéyasu.

Nobunaga's
descent
from the
Ota family.

IN the latter half of the 16th century there lived three men, whose names are among the most distinguished in Japanese history, Nobunaga, Hidéyoshi, and Iyéyasu.

Nobunaga's family name was Ota. The house of Ota was descended from the Taira. Sukémori, a grandson of the renowned Kiyomori, had a son whose mother, after the father's death in the fatal war with the Minamoto, fled away with him to the province of Ômi, and there she was taken to wife by the chief of the village of Tsuda. But a shintô priest from Ota, in the province of Echizen, who happened to lodge in this head-man's house, whilst travelling to Kiôto, asked his host for one of his sons, and the head-man gave him the great-grandson of Kiyomori. The child received the name of Ota Chikazani, and founded the family of Ota, who were shintô priests for generations.

Ota Nobunaga's father was Ota Nobuhidé, who is recorded as having died in 1549, leaving to his son

considerable possessions, which he had acquired by force of arms.

CHAP.
VI.

Nobunaga defended the Ashikaga. He had come from the province of Mino, and by conquering Ômi, also acquired command of Kiôto. In 1569 he returned to his home, leaving his retainer Kinoshita Hidéyoshi in charge of the capital.

He defends
the
Ashikaga.

In the following year he fought in Echizen, and Hidéyoshi followed him to the war. Subsequently he returned to Kiôto, giving the command of his men to Hidéyoshi, and appointing Tokugawa Iyéyasû to the rear-guard.

In 1574, having turned his arms against the shôgun, Ashikaga Yoshiaki, he captured and deposed him, and thus terminated that dynasty, which had taken its rise in the great Takauji. He then held the governing power, rose to be naidaijin, but was never made shôgun.

1574. He
deposes
the shôgun,
Ashikaga
Yoshiaki.

He holds the
governing
power.

From this time till the establishment of the Tokugawa dynasty in the person of Iyéyasû, there was no *sei-i-tai-shôgun* in Japan.

With all Nobunaga's talents, he was never able completely to subdue all the great chieftains, but he broke the power of the Buddhist priesthood, favouring the Christian religion as a counterpoise to the extravagant pretensions of the native monasteries.

He breaks
the power of
the Bud-
dhist priest-
hood, and
favours
Christianity
as a counter-
poise.

Christianity had already been introduced into Japan, and the amount of its progress has been narrated in various works.* The country having been

Spread of
Chris-
tianity.

* I take the information respecting Christianity in this and subsequent chapters from an article in the *Japan Weekly Mail* of March 12, 1870, and thankfully acknowledge the assistance derived from it. See also Dickson's "Japan," from which much of the information is extracted.

CHAP.
VI.

discovered by the Portuguese in 1542, it is recorded that Francisco Xavier landed at Kagoshima in the island of Kiushiu in 1549, and being driven thence by the hostile behaviour of the chieftain or prince of Satsuma, he betook himself first to Yamaguchi in Chôshiu, and then to the Emperor's capital. The labours of his successors and disciples proved very successful, a large number of Japanese, especially in the island of Kiushiu, embraced the new religion, and even in the capital churches existed in 1564. The disturbed state of the country, far from proving an obstacle to the spread of Christianity, appears to have been rather favourable to it; the common people, suffering under a long succession of civil wars and all the attendant miseries, eagerly welcomed a faith which promised the joys of paradise to the poor and persecuted in this life. Many princes and nobles, too, invited the missionaries to their seaports and towns in order to attract the foreign ships and commerce. Add to this the favour of Nobunaga, and, under such a combination of circumstances, it is computed that in 1581 about 150,000 Christians existed in Japan. Several princes in Kiushiu had openly adopted the new religion, and in the same year an embassy sent by them left for Europe, and its members were received by Philip II. of Spain, and Popes Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.

Wealth of
Buddhist
monas-
teries.

The Buddhist monasteries had become exceedingly wealthy, and the number of their dependents were sufficiently numerous to permit them to take the field when their interests seemed to require it, and to assist the cause of one or other of the military chieftains.

1571. De-
struction of
Hiyeizan by
Nobunaga.

Nobunaga was determined to put a stop to their arrogance, and to destroy their power, and with this intent in 1571 he attacked the most important of them,

called Hiyeizan,* said to contain as many as five hundred temples, which he burnt, at the same time putting to death all the priests. CHAP.
VI.

But Nobunaga was destined to a violent death. In 1582 he was attacked by Akéchi Mitsuhide, one of his former captains, in the temple of Honnôji in Kiôto. He was surprised, wounded in the right elbow, and then, running inside the temple, bade the women escape. Then he set fire to the temple, and killed himself with his own sword, being at that time aged forty-nine. 1582.
Nobunga is
attacked by
Akéchi
Mitsuhide
at Kiôto,
and
commits
suicide.

* Near Lake Biwa, in the province of Ômi, not far from Kiôto. It was founded in the reign of the Emperor Temmu (672—690).

CHAPTER VII.

Hidéyoshi, *b.* 1536; *d.* 1598.

Afterwards known as Taikô Sama—Persecution of Christians—
War with Corea.

CHAP.
VII.

Hidéyoshi.

Born in
1536.
His father
was a
peasant.

Becomes a
retainer of
Nobunaga.

He routs
Mitsuhide.

1586. Is
made
kuambaku.

WHEN Nobunaga was killed, Hidéyoshi was encamped opposite the army of the Môri (Chôshiu) in the province of Bitchiu, but he at once made peace with them, and returned to the province of Setsu.

Kinoshita Hidéyoshi was born in 1536, in the village of Nakamura, in the district of Aichi, in the province of Owari. His father was a peasant called Yasuké. After he became a retainer of Nobunaga he distinguished himself by his military talents. In 1575 he was created Chikuzen no Kami, and he was allowed to change his family name to that of Hashiba. He afterwards received the name of Toyotomi from the Emperor.

Hidéyoshi soon succeeded in utterly routing Mitsuhide, who fled and soon after met his death. This exploit was the foundation of Hidéyoshi's power, and he ultimately, in the year 1586, rose to the high office of kuambaku,* which had been reserved exclusively for members of the Fujiwara family. But,

* For the explanation of this word see note to p. 17. He was never shôgun.

as was so generally the custom in Japan, he did not retain this office long, retiring in favour of his son in 1591. He then assumed, as was usual in such cases, the title of taikô, and he has been generally known and mentioned in history as Taikô Sama. He still continued to wield the executive power.

CHAP.
VII.

1591. Retires in favour of his son, and becomes taikô, retaining the power.

Much information respecting Taikô Sama, and especially with regard to his treatment of the Jesuits, is to be found in the fourth chapter of Dr. Dickson's "Japan." Nobunaga had persecuted the Buddhists, the Jesuits were violent on the same side, and it can hardly be wondered that, seeing the proceedings of the latter, and fearing that they would be the cause of much disturbance in the land,—for they were, in fact, as intolerant and greedy of power as the Buddhists,—Taikô Sama ordered their expulsion. The reason assigned was that the Catholic priests preached a religion containing doctrines hostile to Japanese law, and that they had even dared to destroy the sacred edifices erected in honour of Japanese deities.

He orders the expulsion of the Jesuits.

Still the edict was not executed, and though the taikô forbade any public divine service, and prohibited the native princes from becoming Christians, he did not disturb the foreign priests, and the number of converts greatly increased. The Jesuits themselves relate that they baptized more than 30,000 natives into the Christian faith between 1587 and 1590.

The edict is not executed.

In 1593 some Franciscan priests arrived from the Philippines, and made a great parade of their religion, wearing their priestly garments and baptizing in public. The consequence was that in 1596 Taikô Sama issued a new edict against Christians, and six Franciscan priests, three native Jesuits, and seventeen Japanese Christians, were crucified at Nagasaki.

1593. Arrival of Franciscan priests.

1596. Fresh edict against Christians.

CHAP.
VII.

Expedition
to the Corea
in 1594.

The only other incident which I will mention during the tenure of power by Taikô Sama is the expedition to the Corea. It was undertaken in 1594, and was at first exceedingly successful. Most of the provinces of the eight circuits into which the country was divided were conquered, the King Riyeon fled, and, according to a native chronicle, the Japanese troops were on the point of invading China. But the Emperor of that country collected a great army, and assisted the Coreans.

1598. Death
of Taikô
Sama.
Return of
the army
from Corea.

Taikô Sama died in 1598, and the army returned to Japan, without having gained any lasting advantage in Corea.

CHAPTER VIII.

Iyéyasŭ, b. 1542 ; d. 1616.

Taikô Sama gives him the Kuantô, and he establishes himself at Yedo—Battle of Sekigahara—Is made Shôgun—Subjugates the Chieftains—His Sons.

THE third in the string of heroes who successively held sway in Japan was Tokugawa Iyéyasŭ. He was born at Okasaki, in the province of Mikawa, in the year 1542. For a short time he seems to have been opposed in arms to the great Hidéyoshi, but he was serving in 1590 under that great general, when the latter destroyed the family of the Hôjô of Odawara, and took the town of that name, situated at the foot of the Hakoné hills, some fifty miles from Yedo. It was at the time of this siege that the foundation of Iyéyasŭ's power was laid, and the circumstance is thus related by Mr. Mitford in the *Cornhill Magazine*.*

“One day during the siege, as Taikô Sama and his general Tokugawa Iyéyasŭ were standing on a watch-tower which they had built on the heights above Odawara, Taikô Sama said, ‘I see before me the

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Iyéyasŭ
born in 1542.

Serves
under
Hidéyoshi.

Taikô
promises
him the
Kuantô.

* March, 1872. “Wanderings in Japan,” p. 310. To be quite accurate, the taikô should be called the Kuambaku Toyotomi in 1590.

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eight provinces of Kuantô. Before many days are over I will take them and give them to thee.'

"Iyéyasû thanked him, saying, 'That were indeed great luck.'

" 'Wilt thou live here at Odawara,' asked Taikô Sama, 'as the men of Hôjô have done?'

" 'Aye, my lord,' answered Iyéyasû, 'that will I.'

" 'That will not do,' said Taikô Sama. 'I see on the map that there is a place called Yedo some twenty *ri* eastward from here. It is a fine position, and that is the place where thou shouldst live.'

" 'I shall with reverence obey your Lordship's instructions,' replied Iyéyasû."

He estab-
lishes him-
self at Yedo.

The latter was already married to the half-sister of the great general, and after Odawara was taken, he received the Kuantô from the hands of the taikô, and established himself at Yedo. He ultimately obtained still greater power than ever the taikô wielded. In 1600 he won the decisive battle of Sékigahara, entered Ôzaka, and then, as is recorded, "the whole empire submitted to the glorious warrior." He was made *sei-i-tai-shôgun* in 1603, and the dynasty founded by him (the Tokugawa) was not extinguished till 1868, after having existed for 265 years, and having furnished a line of fifteen shôguns.

1603. Is
made
shôgun. His
dynasty
lasts till
1868.

1603. He
retires in
favour of
his son
Hidétada,
but retains
the power.

Iyéyasû, having been shôgun for only two years, retired in favour of his third son, Hidétada. But he still retained the executive power, ruled in his son's name, wrote his famous laws, and devised schemes for entirely subjugating the different chieftains, and for making them subordinate to the ruler of Yedo.

He had nine
sons.

According to native chroniclers, he had nine sons. The eldest was put to death in 1579. The second, Hidéyasû, was adopted by his grandfather, the

taikô, and founded the family of Echizen. The seventh, eighth, and ninth respectively were invested with the principalities of Owari, Kishiu, and Mito. These branches were called the Sanké, or three families, and it was subsequently ordained that, on the failure of the direct line, the shôgun should be chosen from among the cadets of one of these families.

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The Sanké.

CHAPTER IX.

Persecution and Expulsion of Christians—Iyéyasŭ's death—All Foreigners expelled except the Dutch, who are confined to Dëshima—Massacre of native Christians at Shimabara.

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IX.

1614. Ex-
pulsion of
Christians.

AFTER the death of Taikô Sama, the persecutions against Christians ceased for a while, but, upon their showing opposition to Iyéyasŭ, he issued edicts of expulsion against them, and in 1614 it is recorded that 107 Jesuits, 22 priests of different orders, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustines, and more than 200 native seminarists and catechists, were deported from Nagasaki, and sent to Macao in three Chinese junks.

Persecution
of native
Christians
in Kiushiu
and else-
where.

Meanwhile, especially in the island of Kiushiu, the native Christians were being cruelly persecuted. Conspicuous for their hatred of the adherents to the new religion were the renegade Michael, son of the Christian "Don Protase" of Arima, who had informed against his own father, and thus caused his decapitation, and Katô Kiyômasa,* the lord of Higo, who had much distinguished himself in the Corea. The firmness and courage of the native converts, and the zeal of the foreign priests, large numbers of whom

* Called by the Jesuits Toronosqui. His name during boyhood was Toronosŭké.

went over secretly to Japan, did much to render the persecution still more cruel. At first the authorities had contented themselves with deporting the native Christians to other provinces, mostly to the north; but when they found that these measures remained without any effect, death, by the sword or fire, or on the cross, was the punishment awarded to numbers. Even this proved ineffectual to frighten the survivors into submission, and orders were therefore issued no longer to execute them publicly, but to torture them to death in the prisons.

Iyéyasū died in 1616, and in the following year all the ports were closed to foreign commerce, with the exception of Hirado and Nagasaki; in 1621 Japanese were forbidden to visit foreign countries, in 1624 all foreigners except the Dutch and English were banished from Japan, in 1640 a Portuguese embassy was executed at Nagasaki, and in 1641 the Dutch were sent to the little island called Déshima, which adjoins the port of Nagasaki, and Japan remained closed to all other foreigners.

The persecution of native Christians still continued, and the number of victims can scarcely be estimated. In 1637 thirty thousand are said to have been massacred at Shimabara, and after this period little is heard of the sect, though many votaries still existed, especially in the district about Nagasaki.

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IX.

1616. Death of Iyéyasū. Cessation of intercourse with foreigners.

1641. Dutch alone remain in Déshima.

1637. 30,000 native Christians massacred at Shimabara.

CHAPTER X.

Successors of Iyéyasū (except Iyémitsū) and their Ministers mostly *fainéants*—Ordinances compelling Daimios and their families to live in Yedo.—Rise of Feudal System—Daimios divided into Kokushiu, Tozama, and Fudai—They generally became effete, as did their Karôs—Under them were the Hatamoto, the Go¹ kénin, and the great bulk of Samurai—Remainder of Population consisted of Farmers, Artisans, and Merchants—Below them the *Eta* and *Hinin*.

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X.

Iyéyasū's
successors
mostly
fainéants,
as well as
their
ministers.

Ordinances
for compul-
sory resi-
dence in
Yedo of
daimios
and their
families.

OF the successors of Iyéyasū, with the exception of Iyémitsū, there is little to record. They were mostly *fainéants*, as were their almost hereditary ministers, the rôjiu. The latter were generally ruled by the secretaries, or *oku go yûhitsu*, so that the real power quite fell out of the hands of the men who nominally held it. Hidéta da was succeeded by his son Iyémitsū, who was appointed shôgun in 1623, and to him is attributed the very important step of compelling the daimios to reside at Yedo with their families for certain periods, thus bringing them still further into subjection. He appears to have been a man of ability and a wise ruler. To his son Iyétsuna, who became shôgun in 1650, or to those who exercised the power in his name, is attributed the further coercive ordinance which decreed that, even when the

daimios were absent from Yedo, they were obliged to leave their families behind them as hostages.

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The country had been, as already indicated, divided amongst a number of powerful chieftains, and a feudal system had been established by means of long hereditary occupation of lands by the same families. No grant, however, of land by the shôgun was, in theory, valid without the sanction of the sovereign. A native writer * says :—

Rise of
feudal
system.
Shôgun's
grant of
land not
properly
valid
without
Emperor's
sanction.

“It is a painful fact that there are men who openly assert that the existing estates of the daimios are direct grants from, or are held on the condition of allegiance to, the shôgunate. When these men talk so, they convict both the shôgun and their own lords of treason. Is it asked how? ‘There is not a single foot of land that is not the territory of the sovereign; not a single individual who is not the subject of the sovereign.’ Further, this realm of the Mikado was never handed over by any sovereign to the shôgunate. Therefore for any one (daimiô) to consider his sovereign’s territory as his own private property and then make a covenant of allegiance with a subject of the sovereign (the shôgun) is flat treason. The truth of the matter is, that after Yoritomo had been invested by the sovereign with the office of punishing the national enemies,† his successors devoted their authority to their own private ends; then, after the time of Ashikaga, the office was held by his posterity in hereditary succession, and thus, in the course of a few generations, the fact of its being a private appropriation was lost sight of.

* Fuku ko ron, or “Return to the Ancient Regime,” No. I. Translated by J. C. Hall, of Her Majesty’s Consular Service in Japan.

† As *sei-i-tai-shôgun*.

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"Now let us suppose that, through the agency of the shôgunate, the existing estates were distributed in trust to the various daimios, and the subjects of the sovereign in like manner placed under their respective jurisdictions; how splendid does the work of the shôgunate appear! Whereas, if we suppose that the estates were granted by, or are held on the terms of allegiance to, the shôgunate, we bring, as well upon our own lords as upon the shôgunate itself, the foul stigma of treason.

"Furthermore, rank and office can be conferred upon subjects by the sovereign alone. When, therefore, we find that all the daimios are invested with titles of rank and office, can there remain the vestige of a doubt as to their being subjects of the sovereign?"

Whatever the theory, in point of fact the *kokushiu* daimios were in some cases successors of Yoritomo's *shiugo*, but most were merely successful adventurers who had snatched possession of the provinces they held, and had submitted to the superiority of a stronger and more able adventurer in the person of Iyéyasû, the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty. There does not seem to have been anything like an oath of allegiance, or "homage" on the part of any daimios to the shôgun, but they were more like nominally tributary potentates, and the shôgun himself was the most powerful daimio, who assumed the protectorship of the sovereign.

Besides the *kokushiu* daimios, there were *tozama* and *fudai*.

Besides the eighteen principal or *kokushiu* daimios, there were two classes of princes, the one existing before Iyéyasû's era, and called *tozama*, or "outside nobility," and the other composed of his own adherents, and called *fudai*, or "vassals of the dynasty." The great object of the shôgun was natur-

ally to lessen the power of all the daimios, and he pursued this policy by means of fines and confiscations, by making the power of both tozama and fudai as equally balanced as possible, and by giving to each of the fudai class lands in the neighbourhood of one of the tozama, in order that the former might be able to watch and spy over the latter.

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We have seen that the emperors soon became effete, that the semi-divine family of Fujiwara followed suit, and contented themselves with empty titles, that the possessors of the title of shôgun, nominally chiefs of the executive power, generally became after two or three generations as effete as the emperors; and so it was in most cases with the daimiôs.

The
daimios
generally
became
effete.

If one general, by successful feats of arms, and by intellect and daring, raised himself to an eminent position, it was at least doubtful whether his successors would retain that position; it was in the interest of those surrounding him to wean the young prince from business, to hedge him round with outward show and seeming reverence, to drown what intellect he originally possessed in the pleasures of the senses. Thus, as has been said of the later shôguns—and the shôgun was but the principal daimio—"The shôgun was a powerful hereditary feudal lord, who exhausted on his mansions the resources of luxury and splendour, who lived in unrestrained indulgence of voluptuous music and the pleasures of the palate, who floated along from day to day in careless unconcern, regardless of the misery of the people." *

This description is no doubt written by an enemy of the shôgunate, and, perhaps, in exaggerated language, but there is much truth contained in it.

* "Fuku ko ron," No. III.

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Next came
the *karôs*,
who were
often effete.

The clan
often ruled
by lower
officials.

Their cor-
ruption and
venality.

The
hatamotos.

Next to the prince and his family came the *karôs*, or "elders." * Their office became hereditary, and, like the princes, they in many instances became effete. The business of what we may call the clan would thus fall into the hands of any clever man or set of men of the lower ranks, who, joining ability to daring and unscrupulousness, kept the princes and the *karôs* out of sight, but surrounded with empty dignity, and, commanding the opinion of the bulk of the *samurai* or military class, wielded the real power themselves. They took care, however, to perform every act in the name of the *fainéants*, their lords, and thus we hear of Satsuma, Chôshiu, and other daimios, just as in the case of the emperors, accomplishing deeds and carrying out policies of which they were perhaps wholly ignorant, and which were in fact due to the skill and ability of the wire-pullers of inferior rank. That these latter became corrupt, and, indeed, that the whole administration of the clans was corrupt, followed naturally enough. It is sufficient to live but a short time in Japan to be painfully convinced that jobbery and venality are still rife among the bureaucracy, and it is clear that a system of corruption and bribery has existed there for centuries, the pattern of which will be found amongst the *tschinovniks* of Russia.

Next to the *daimiô* (great name), but, as *shomiô* (small name), inferior to them in rank, were the *hatamotos* (under the flag). These were, as the name implied, men who rallied round the standard of the *shôgun* in war time. Each was the feudal superior of

* The councillors of daimios were of two classes—the *karô*, or "elder," an hereditary office held by cadets of the prince's family, and the *yônin*, or "man of business," who was selected on account of his merits. These "councillors" play no mean part in Japan.—Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan," vol. i., note to p. 7.

a number of retainers varying from three to thirty. After Iyéyasū left the province of Mikawa, and had risen to be shōgun, the retainers whom he enrolled, and who received from him grants of land yielding revenue from 100 to 100,000 *koku* of rice, were called hatamotos. In return for these lands, each hatamoto had to furnish a contingent of five soldiers for every thousand *koku* he possessed; if he possessed less than one thousand *koku*, he contributed a quota in money.

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In many instances the hatamotos were branches of the oldest and most illustrious families of the empire, and during the whole period of the Tokugawa dynasty they enjoyed much consideration. It was by them and by the fudai daimios that almost every office of the executive government, whether civil or military, was filled. They were governors of cities, generals of armies, and subsequently the representatives of Japan in dealing with foreign powers. It was by hatamotos that the shōgun's treaties with foreign powers were negotiated, and the chiefs of the embassy sent to the European courts in 1866 were of the same class. The lowest estimate places their number at eighty thousand.*

They filled
many im-
portant
offices.

The gokénin, though superior in numbers, were a much inferior body to the hatamoto, both in rank and income. Their income seldom reached a hundred *koku*; but the broad line of demarcation between them and the hatamoto was not one of income, but of rank, and consisted in the possession by the latter of the privilege of the *o mé miyé* or admission to the presence of their lord, of looking at, and being

The goké-
nin.

* Vide *Japan Weekly Mail* for 1870, p. 408, for this information and the following respecting the gokénin.

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X.

looked at, by the shôgun. This was denied to the gokénin.

These two large bodies of the military class, forming the hereditary personal following of the shôguns, and numbering, with their families and dependents, certainly not less than half a million of souls, were supported from generation to generation by the incomes assigned to them, in lands or in rice, out of the property of their lord.

The great bulk of the samurai supported by their lords.

Below the classes already mentioned were the great bulk of the *samurai*, the two-sworded military retainers, who were supported by their lords, many receiving little more than their daily portion of rice. It can be well imagined what a bane to the nation these swashbucklers, as they have well been called, inevitably became. They were reckless, idle fellows, acknowledging no obeisance but to their lord, for whom they were ready at any moment to lay down their lives, either on the field of battle, in defending him from assassination, or (whether at his order, or of their own free-will) by suicide, to save themselves and their families from what, according to the strict code of Japan, was deemed dishonour. And if they did not die thus, they would very probably lose their lives in some tavern brawl, or be the victims of a vendetta which they had brought on themselves by some dreadful deed of blood. The classes below them they treated with the utmost contempt and brutality, and it requires no proof to show what permanent harm was done to the country by this large unproductive class, and how poor Japan remained in consequence. Out of the whole number there were not, according to a native writer, more than twenty or thirty per cent. who were even effective soldiers; "the remaining seventy

Harm done to Japan by this large unproductive class.

or eighty per cent.," as he says, "merely turn up their eyes gratefully and eat."

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The rest of the population was divided into three great classes, in the following order:—farmers, artisans, and merchants. There were also two sets of people even below these in the social scale, the *eta* and the *hinin*. The *eta* were a class of outcasts, living in separate villages or settlements apart from the general population, with whom they were not allowed to intermarry. Their means of livelihood consisted in working skins, and converting them into leather. Working in *prepared* leather was not considered a pollution, but it was the *handling of the raw hides* which was deemed to be such. Some accounts state these people to be the descendants of foreign immigrants. The Japanese Encyclopedia, entitled *Sansaidzuyé*, explains that the *eta* were originally *etori*, or attendants who killed animals required for feeding the imperial falcons. The Emperor Temmu (672—686) issued an edict forbidding the use of animals as articles of food, a prohibition which probably was instigated by the Buddhist priests, whose creed especially forbade the taking of life. It was they who interdicted these unfortunate people from sharing fire and shelter with the rest of the population, and thus the *eta* came to constitute a separate race. Some are said to have amassed much wealth.

1. Farmers,
2. Artisans,
3. Merchants.
Below these
the *eta* and
the *hinin*.

The *hinin* (or "not humans") were a class of paupers, who only came into existence after the commencement of the Tokugawa dynasty of shôguns. They were allowed to squat on waste lands, and to build huts for themselves. They gained their livelihood by begging. They were employed to carry away the dead bodies from the execution grounds.

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They were not allowed to intermarry with the ordinary people. It was, however, possible for a *hinin*, by industry, to raise himself from this degraded condition, although the instances were rare.*

* Both these classes of people are now abolished.

CHAPTER XI.

Nikkô, burial-place of Iyéyasû and Iyémitsû.

THE corpse of the great Iyéyasû was eventually carried to a lovely spot some eighty miles from Yedo, which, when I left Japan, had been visited by few Europeans. Sir Harry and Lady Parkes, with a small party, were the first to penetrate to Nikkô, in May, 1870; and in March, 1872, Mr. Satow, Mr. Wirgman, an artist universally known by the foreign residents for his characteristic sketches of Japanese life and scenery, and I made an excursion to the resting-place of the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty and of Iyémitsû, his illustrious grandson. There are several roads to Nikkô from the eastern capital.* That usually followed is by the high road to the northern province of Ôshiu (the Ôshiukaidô) for about sixty miles, and thence to the left for the remaining distance. The first portion of the journey is through flat and uninteresting country. After the river Toné is passed, the road becomes broad, is lined with pine trees and cryptomeria, and there are generally walks on each side,

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Iyéyasû
buried at
Nikkô.
Iyémitsû
also buried
there.

Different
roads to
Nikkô.
That by the
Ôshiukaidô
the most
usual.

* The information which follows respecting Nikkô was obtained from Mr. Satow, and was published in the *Japan Weekly Mail* soon after our return.

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Village of
Hachiishi
close to the
sacred
grounds.

divided from the road by the trees. The village close to the sacred grounds, called Hachiishi, is a long street on an incline; and near to its further end, on the right hand, is the house then belonging to the head man of the village, where we spent three days. From there it is only a step to the sacred bridge mentioned later, which the traveller must cross to explore all that the holy grounds contain; less, alas! than formerly, for the *hombô*, or house where the representative of the Emperor used to take up his abode, was burnt in 1871, and the many temples of daimios who came to worship were demolished in the same year, by order of the government. As it is probable that this spot will be more and more frequently visited by strangers, a description of some of the sights is here appended.

Snowy
range of
Nikkôzan.

The snowy range of mountains known as the Nikkôzan is situated on the north-west boundary of the province of Shimotsûké. The original name was Futa-ara Yama, or the two storm mountains, on account of periodical hurricanes in spring and autumn, which issued from a great cavern in one of the mountains, and this name being translated into Chinese became Nikôzan. In the year 820 the priest Kûkai visited the spot, made a road to the neighbourhood of the cavern, and changed the name of the mountain to *Nikkôzan*, or the mountain of the sun's brightness, from which moment it is said the storms ceased to devastate the country. Up to the end of the seventeenth century a family of shintô ministers named Ono used to pay semi-annual visits to the cavern to perform certain exorcisms, the secret of which had been imparted to their ancestor by Kûkai, and the effect was to keep the hurricane-wind quiet;

it does not, however, appear that the discontinuance of this practice has had any evil effects.

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The sanctity of Nikkôzan dates from the year 767, when a certain Buddhist saint, called Shôdô Shônin, first visited it. In the beginning of the ninth century the famous Kôbô Daishi,* and in the middle of the same century the priest Jigaku Daishi, added to its holy places. In 1616, when the priest Tenkai, afterwards canonized as Jigen Daishi, was abbot, the second shôgun, Hidétada, acting on the dying injunctions of his father Iyéyasû, sent Honda Kadsusa no süké and Tôdô Idzumi no kami to Nikkô to find a resting-place for the body of the dead hero. They selected a site for the shrine on the southern slope of a hill called Hotoké Iwa, behind the temple where the Gongen† of Nikkô had been enshrined from ancient times, and returned to Yedo on the twenty-first day of the ninth month, with a plan of the spot for the information of his Highness. Kadzusa no süké was appointed chief superintendent of works, and the buildings were commenced on the seventeenth day of the eleventh month of the same year. In the third

Sanctity
dates from
767.

1616. Spot
chosen as
resting-
place for
Iyéyasû.

* Said to have introduced the alphabets or syllabaries (*hiragana* and *katakana*) in Japan. Mr. Aston, interpreter to the Legation at Yedo, states that they had come into general use by the end of the 9th century.

† Gongen. This term is not the name of an individual god or human being, but is the general designation of native shintô gods, whom the Buddhist priests choose to consider as being temporary manifestations, as its etymology implies, of their own Indian deities. There are gongen all over Japan, who are not by any means duplicates of Iyéyasû, as some people seem to have supposed. It is quite true, however, that by Gongen Sama a Japanese means Iyéyasû, just as by the title Taikô with *Sama* suffixed he meant, as already seen, to designate Toyotomi Hidéyoshi.—E. S.

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1617. The
corpse is
moved to
Nikkô.

month of 1617 the shrine and some of the surrounding edifices were completed. On the fifteenth day of the same month the corpse was removed from Kunôzan, in the province of Suruga, where it had been temporarily interred, and the funeral procession started for Nikkô, where it arrived at two o'clock in the afternoon of the fourth day of the fourth month. On the eighth day the coffin was deposited in the tomb. On the eleventh the Shôgun Hidétada paid a visit to the shrine. Three days later the title of shô-ichi-i tôshô * dai gongen was conferred on the deified hero by a decree of the Mikado, which was read by his Envoy† Ano Saishô, a kugé. On the seventeenth the *gohei* was presented at the chapel by the Imperial Envoy, and on the following day offerings were made at the shrine of the local Buddha Yakushi Niorai. During the twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second days the Hokké sacred classic was read ten thousand times, by priests assembled for that purpose. Many kugés

* Tôshô, light of the east, in allusion to the seat of Iyéyasû's glory having been in the eastern part of Japan, and to the benefits he conferred on his native land by putting an end to the civil wars which had distracted it during so many generations.—E. S.

† An envoy was subsequently sent by the Emperor to the shrine of Iyéyasû every year in the fifth month. The route he took was called the Reiheishi kaidô. He was the regular (*rei*) envoy (*shi*) sent to offer up the *gohei* or shreds of paper attached to a long wand which are to be seen in every shintô shrine. The *gohei* offered at Nikkô was always solidly gilt. It was customary for the Reiheishi, who was always a kugé of high rank, to leave Kiôto by the Nakasendô, or road through the mountains, accompanied by his swarm of greedy hirelings, who assumed the garb of *samurai* for the occasion, and presumed upon the sacred character of their masters to extort money from the inhabitants of places along the route upon the most frivolous pretexts.—E. S.

and a priest belonging to the imperial family took part in the proceedings. CHAP.
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In 1845 the title of dai gongen was changed by a decree of the Mikado to that of gû, or miya, meaning palace.

The chief priest of Nikkô from an early date was always a prince of the imperial blood, and he bore the title of Rinnôji no miya. He was also the chief priest of Tôyôzan or Uyéno in Yedo, where he usually resided, and where several of the Tokugawa shôguns are buried. He visited Nikkô three times annually, namely, at the new year, in the fourth, and in the ninth month.

Chief priest
a prince
of the
imperial
blood.
Also chief
priest of
Uyéno in
Yedo.
Visited
Nikkô three
times
annually.

On issuing from the gate at the top of the long street in Hachiishi, and proceeding a few steps, the traveller perceives a red bridge spanning the rushing Daiyagawa, about forty yards wide between the stone walls which confine its course at this point. It is supported on stone piers of great solidity, fixed into the rocks between which the stream flows, and, though not claiming any particular architectural merit, is interesting from the fact that it was formerly closed to all passengers except the shôguns, and pilgrims twice a year. It is called Mihashi, or the sacred bridge. The legend says that when the holy Shôdô Shônin first visited Nikkô, and arrived at this spot, he found the rocks so steep and the flood which poured through them so full of whirlpools, that it seemed impossible to pass over. Appalled at the sight, he fell on his knees and called fervently upon the gods and upon Buddha for aid, when, in answer to his prayer, there appeared on the opposite bank the indistinct figure of the god Shinsha Daiô, holding two green and red snakes, which he cast over the abyss.

Legend of
the sacred
red bridge.

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In an instant a long bridge was seen to span the stream like a rainbow floating among the hills. The astonishment of the saint was so great, that he doubted the reality of the miracle, but became fully convinced of the practical intervention of the god when the bridge in another moment became covered with long grass. Feeling quite satisfied of the safety of the structure, he crossed it with his disciples, and, on turning round to look at it again, saw to his wonder that the god and the snakes had completely disappeared.

The present bridge, which is eighty-four feet long and eighteen feet wide, was built in 1636, and has not required any repairs of importance since that time. At each end there are gates which are constantly kept closed. The shrine of the god Shinsha stands on the side of the road, opposite to the northern end. Forty yards or so lower down the stream is the "temporary bridge," successor to that which was constructed while the sacred bridge was in course of erection.

Description
of the
courts and
buildings.

Crossing this, and turning to the left, the visitor ascends through a belt of cryptomerias, and after mounting some broad steps, finds himself before the huge granite *torii* or arch, presented by a prince of Chikuzen from his own quarries in 1618. Its total height is twenty-seven feet six inches, and the diameter of the columns is three and a half feet.

On the left is a five-storied wooden pagoda of graceful form, painted in harmonious colours. It rises to a height of one hundred and four feet, and the roofs measure eighteen feet on each side. This monument was the offering, in 1650, of the daimio of Obama in Wakasa, one of the chief supporters of the

Tokugawa family. Round the lower story are placed the signs of the zodiac, carved in wood, and painted in a life-like manner.

From the *torii* a pavement forty yards in length leads to the bottom of the steps crowned by the gate, in the niches on each side of which formerly stood two gigantic figures of the Niô, the Buddhist Gog and Magog. Since the shrine of Iyéyasû has been purified by the exclusion of the Buddhist element, these figures have been removed to that of Iyémitsû. In the niches on the inner side of the gate are two of those curious animals, the *amäinu*, or heavenly dogs, gilt, in a sitting posture. The carving of tigers under the eaves is well worth attention.

But, upon a first visit, the traveller will hurry on, and gaze upon the court which opens to his view after passing the gate of the Niô. In this front court, raised high above the approach, and enclosed by a timber wall, painted bright red, are firstly three buildings which are so beautiful, that it seems a profanation to call them godowns; but they are nothing more in reality. One is said to contain the utensils used at the ceremonies performed in honour of Iyéyasû's memory, in a second are pictures and Buddhist Scriptures, and in the third are deposited furniture and other articles used by the hero during his lifetime. The buildings are arranged in a zigzag, and the third is remarkable for two extraordinary paintings of elephants on the end which is turned towards the gate. On the left of the gate is a sumptuous stable for the three sacred white horses, kept for the use of the god, whence the name *jim-mé*. The next building is a guard-room, and it does not call for special remark. A far more interesting object is the holy-

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water cistern made of a solid piece of granite, and protected by a roof supported upon twenty square pillars of the same stone. It is so carefully adjusted on its bed, that the water conducted through a long series of pipes from the cascade called Sômendaki behind the hill bubbles up and pours over each edge in exactly equal volumes, so that it seems to be a solid block of water rather than a piece of stone. The donor was Nabéshima Shinano no Kami, Prince of Hizen, who presented it in 1618. The highly decorated building beyond the On chôdzu-ya, as it is called, is a depository for a complete collection of Buddhist Scriptures.

We now ascend a flight of steps into another court, along the front of which runs a stone balustrade. Just inside are two stone lions in the act of leaping down, called *tobikomi no shishi*, presented by *Iyémitsû*. On the right stand a bell tower of marvellous workmanship and ornamentation, a bronze candelabra presented by the King of Liukiu, and a bell given by the King of Corea, called the moth-eaten bell, because of its possessing an aperture in the top, just under the ring by which it is suspended. On the left stand a bronze lantern from Corea, a candelabra from Holland, a drum tower, no unworthy companion to the bell tower opposite, and behind these again a shrine to the Buddha called *Yakushi Niorai*. The Corean lantern is a really fine and most solid piece of workmanship, but its style and construction indicate that the credit of its manufacture is not due to artisans of that country. We should be inclined to say that all three of these gifts came from Europe through Dutch hands, and the form of some bracket candlesticks which are fixed upon the interior wall of

the court, right and left of the steps, suggests that the whole set may have been the spoil of some Roman Catholic church in the Netherlands. No Corean or Liukiuan ever made a candlestick with a hollow socket for the candle. Nothing else remains to be observed in this court, except two iron standard lanterns on the right of the steps, presented by Daté Masamuné, Prince of Sendai, a prominent adherent of Iyéyasū, and the same number on the left given by the Prince of Satsuma. The whole number of such lanterns contributed by various daimios amounts to one hundred and eighteen.

We next ascend a flight of steps to the platform on which stands the Yômei Gate. This gate is a marvel of workmanship. The *kéyaki** columns which support it are painted white, as well as the interior of the side niches, which are lined with arabesques of graceful design founded upon the *botan* or mountain-flower. The capitals of the columns are formed by the heads of the fabulous animal called *kirin*. Above the architrave projects a balcony, which runs all round the structure, the railing being carried by dragons' heads, with two white dragons fighting in the central space. Underneath is a row of groups of children playing, and other subjects, nine on each face. Below again are a curious network of beams, and seven groups of Chinese sages. The roof is supported by gilt dragons' heads with gaping crimson throats, and from the top a gilt demon looks down upon the spectator. Right and left extends a long piazza, the outer walls of which are adorned with magnificent carvings of trees,

* Name of a tree.

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birds, and flowers, coloured after nature, fifteen compartments on the right and six on the left.

Passing through the gate, we enter a second court enclosed on three sides by the interior of the above-mentioned piazza, in which the priests used to chant their orisons when assembled for the two great annual festivals, and on the fourth by a lofty stone wall built against the face of the hill. Of two buildings on the right, one contains a stage for the performance of the dances called *kagura*, while in the other, called the *goma dô*, stood an altar for burning the fragrant cedar. On the left is the building in which the sacred cars of the three original Gongen of Nikkô were placed during the celebration of festivals. In the midst stands the enclosure called *tamagaki*, which contains the *haiden* or chapel. It forms a square of which one side is fifty yards long, and is constructed of gilt trellis with borders of mosaic painting running along it, above and below. Underneath are carvings of birds, in groups about eight inches high and six feet long, with backgrounds of grass, carved and gilt. The gate called *Karamon*, through which this enclosure is entered, is composed of Chinese woods, inlaid with great skill and care. The chapel is not open to the Japanese public, who are not admitted further than the bottom of the front steps surmounted by the usual mirror. Foreigners would probably have little difficulty in gaining access to it. The front hall is a large matted room, forty-two feet long by twenty-seven from back to front, with two antechambers, one on each side. That to the right was intended for the use of the *shôgun*, and contains, besides pictures of *kirin* on a gold ground, four carved oaken panels eight feet high by six wide. The sub-

jects are the phoenix, variously treated, and appear at first to be in low relief, but on closer examination it will be discovered that the figures are formed of various woods glued on to the surface of the panel, a suspicion of which fact is also naturally excited by a quantity of false brass-headed nails, which do not add to the beauty of the work. The same number of panels, the subject of which are hawks, very spiritedly executed, adorn the opposite antechamber, called "the waiting-room of his Holiness the Abbot." The gold *gohei* in the centre of the front chapel is the only ornament left, the Buddhist furniture of bells, gongs, books of prayers, etcetera, having been removed.

Two wide steps at the back lead down into that part of the chapel called the stone chamber, from the circumstance that it is paved with that material. The ceiling is divided into square panels, painted with gold dragons on a dark blue ground. Beyond are some gilded doors, leading into the *honden* or "principal chapel," containing four apartments to which access is not obtainable. In the first stood formerly the *gohei*, in the last probably the *ihai*, a tablet inscribed with the name of Tôshô gû.

To reach the tomb it is necessary to issue again from the *karamon*, and passing between the *goma dô* and *kagura dô*, to gain a door in the eastern wall of the piazza. From this a mossgrown stone gallery and several steep flights of about 200 steps altogether conduct to the tomb on the hill behind. After passing through the *torii* at the top of the last flight, we come to another and smaller chapel, only used while the other just visited was undergoing repairs.

The tomb is of bronze, and has exactly the shape The tomb.

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Its simplicity.

as those in the same material of the later shôguns at Shiba, in Yedo. There is too a similar simplicity at the resting-place, a similar and striking contrast to the gorgeousness of the ornamentation and colouring in the courts through which we have passed. The approach by the mossgrown gallery, and the silence and desolation of the spot, are well calculated to impress the stranger, and we lingered long before the simple urn. In front of it stands a low stone table decorated with an immense bronze stork, bearing a brass candle in its mouth, an incense burner of the same material, and a vase with artificial lotus flowers and leaves in brass. The whole is surrounded by a stone wall surmounted with a balustrade, and pierced in front for an iron gate. Before this sit two stone *amûinu* on guard.

The shrine
of Iyémitsû.

Passing over the description of various objects, for fear of wearying the reader, we come to the gate leading to the shrine of Iyémitsû. On approaching it the gigantic Niô, already mentioned as being the Buddhist Gog and Magog, are seen in niches on each side. In the niches on the inner side of the gate stand the Niô which once adorned the gate of Iyéyasû's shrine. A flight of steps leads up to the gate called Nitenmon. The niches on the outside contain a green wooden statue on the right and a red one on the left. One of the niches on the inside is occupied by the god of wind, painted green, who carries on his back a long sack tied at each end, with the ends brought over his shoulders. He has only two toes on each foot, and a thumb and three fingers on each hand. His companion, the god of thunder, is painted red, and holds a thunderbolt in his right hand. He has the same number of toes as the god of wind, and one finger less on each hand. Three more flights of steps conduct to

the Yashamon, the niches of which contain the four Tennô, Buddhist gods, who protect the four quarters of the compass. Turning round just inside the gate, the visitor has a beautiful view of foliage before him. Directly opposite is the Hotoké Iwa, on which stands Iyéyasû's shrine, completely covered up to the summit with trees of various tints, and of which only a narrow piece can be seen between the avenue of cryptomerias which line the last flight of steps ascended. This vignette is the gem of Nikkô, and would be worth the trouble of a four days' journey from Yedo through the mud flats, even if the shrines possessed no other attractions. The chapel is less magnificent than that of Iyéyasû, and is crowded with the insignia of Buddhism, such as may be seen at Shiba or Uyéno in Yedo. The tomb is reached by flights of steps up the side of the hill on the right of the chapel. It is of bronze, and in the same style as that of Iyéyasû, only of a darker colour, which suggests that it is less cared for. The gates in front are of bronze, with large Sanscrit characters in shining brass all over them. At this shrine the visitor will observe that he is received by a shaven-pated timid priest, with a face that tells of much prayer and fasting, dressed in a scarlet robe, while at that of Iyéyasû he was waited upon by laymen whose countenances had a robust healthy look, who were dressed in brocade garments such as the attendants of the Mikado wear, and who had black lacquered paper hats of diminutive size balanced on the top of their heads.

There is certainly a great charm about Nikkô, and there is variety for every one's tastes. If the traveller is learned in the old history and mythology of Japan, he can spend days in examining the temples, shrines,

Charm of
Nikkô.

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and other objects of interest in the sacred grounds already described. If he prefers nature, he can be equally interested in exploring the neighbourhood, and whichever way his steps lead him he will find points of attraction. From any one of the eminences within a walk he will, on a clear day, obtain a fine view of the plain which he has lately traversed, stretching away beyond the town of Utsunomiya and the Ôshiukaidô, as far as the peaks of Tsukuba in Mito. Then, turning his face round, he will see, in bold contrast, the snowy range which limits the horizon on the north with a seemingly impenetrable wall. Add to this a delicious atmosphere, bracing and health-giving, and no more is needed to stamp this spot as one of the pleasantest resting-places in Japan.

Excursion
to
Chiuzenji.

One of the principal excursions, it may be mentioned, is to the lake of Chiuzenji, and will occupy a day. It is possible for a stout pedestrian to make the ascent of Nantaizan, the most famous of the range, and return to Nikkô the same day, as was accomplished by Sir Harry Parkes and some of his party, but this must at least be in the summer, and would probably be found too fatiguing for most travellers. The easier plan would be to sleep at the temple on the lake, the only building now inhabited and in good order, and then ascend Nantaizan the following day. The lake is charmingly situated, reminding one of many a scene in Scotland. On its shore is a singular deserted village, formerly tenanted by hosts of pilgrims in the seventh month of every year. The houses are in rows, containing for the most part but two rooms, one above and one below, all in the last stage of disorder and ruin. The temple, which is the original shrine of the three Gongen of Nikkô, contains

the single inhabitant of this solitary place. Twelve men take it in turn to spend five days there, coming from Nikkô or its neighbourhood, and bringing their provisions. Since 1868 the number of pilgrims has greatly decreased.

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The principal peaks of the horse-shoe range of snowy mountains which surround Nikkô are Nantai, Great and Little Manago, Niôhô and Akanagi. Of these Nantaizan is the highest and the most famous. The following description of its ascent in May, 1870, by several of Sir Harry Parkes's party, is taken from the *Japan Weekly Mail* of the 4th of June in that year. It is from the pen of Mr. J. C. Hall, of Her Majesty's Consular Service in Japan.

Principal
peaks of
Nikkôzan.

Ascent of
Nantaizan
by Sir H.
Parkes and
others.

"Starting before sunrise, they retrod the path of the previous day as far as Chiuzenji, and found that seven miles of steep, rugged mountain track still lay before them. The path, if such it might be called, seemed to be specially designed for the few pilgrims who are hardy enough to attempt it, and the deep drifts of snow which covered the upper slopes made the last advance particularly toilsome. The view from the summit was superb. About 3000 feet below lay the Chiuzenji lake, while round about, in imposing array, rose the other summits of the chain. From several of the more distant of the latter eruptions of smoke and vapour were seen, accompanied by loud reverberating detonations—a proof scarcely needed of the volcanic character of the entire region. A small Miya, or shintô shrine, had been erected on the top of Nantai, and on the scarp of rock beside it lay offerings of an unusual sort. These were none other than rusty sword-blades, to the number of above a hundred, which had been from time to time de-

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posited there by unquiet spirits, who, having committed some deed of violence, had in their remorse performed the pilgrimage, and here, in the sight of Heaven, put away from them the instruments of their crime. The travellers accomplished the descent and the return to the palace (Hombô at Nikkô) before night closed in upon them."

Other
excursions.

Other excursions are to the picturesquely situated waterfall called Urami ga taki, which can be visited by a short deviation from the road in going to or returning from Chiuzenji; to the spot called Gô shitsu in, whence the Mikado's representative used to enjoy the view of the distant plain, and on a level space fireworks were exhibited on certain occasions. From there over undulating country to the north, till a stone is reached whence there is a picturesque view of the waterfall Kiri furi (falling mist) in a wild ravine. The nearest eminence from which a really good view can be obtained is Tozama, a hill rising up somewhat in the form of a huge animal *couchant*. It is about an hour's walk, the last bit of the ascent being very steep, but the toil is amply repaid.

Choice of
roads for
return to
Yedo.

There is a choice of roads in returning from Nikkô. What may be called the most natural route leads over a high pass by Ashinôo and Hanawa to the Nakasendô. There are also several roads which conduct the traveller among the mountains, and, indeed, he cannot go far wrong whichever route he adopts. If he is a stout pedestrian, and has little luggage, he can make his way by mountain paths in a tolerably straight course by Kobugahara and Kuma no Osaku to Idzuru, where there is a famous temple to the god Kuanon, at the mouth of a ravine, in which he will find some curious limestone caverns. The route

we took passes by the same places, and is easier, but more circuitous. It abounds in wild and picturesque scenery. From Idzuru the Nakasendô is reached at Kônosû, some twenty-six miles from the eastern capital.

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CHAPTER XII.

Daimios' Revenue—Value of the Koku—Land Tax—Different
Classes of Land.

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Daimios' revenue was the amount of rice produced.

More correctly "assessment."

Value of the *koku* of rice.

IT has been mentioned that the *samurai*, being retainers of daimios, were supported by their lords, and they received from them their daily portion of rice. The revenue of the territory of a clan was the amount of rice which it was supposed to produce, and is more correctly called "assessment." If the assessment was exact, the revenue of the clan, consisting of the daimio and his retainers, would generally be about one-half of the whole produce, but in many cases the nominal assessment was considerably below the real figure, and the clan may have received, say, two-thirds of such assessment as revenue. This, then, had to be divided between the daimio and his retainers, many of whom had large revenues. In the province of Satsuma, there were great retainers with lands assessed at as much as 15,000 *koku* of rice, which amounts were included in the general assessment.

The *koku* of rice contains, according to Dr. Dickson, 5.13 bushels. Its value must naturally differ in different years, and after the admission of foreigners the price of rice increased considerably. With some

difficulty I obtained from the books of the *toiya*, or brokers through whom the city of Yedo is supplied with rice, a statement of the average price during ten years ending 1869; and it is here appended. The right-hand column represents the average purchasing power of a *riô* during the year. The amount is given in *go*, of which there are 10 in a *kin*, and 1000 in a *koku*.

1859	480 <i>go</i>	1865	200 <i>go</i>
1860	430 „	1866	125 „
1861	330 „	1867	110 „
1862	425 „	1868	160 „
1863	300 „	1869	107 „
1864	455 „		

From this it will be seen that the average price of one *koku* of rice in 1859 was little more than two *riô*, whereas in 1869 it was about $9\frac{1}{3}$ *riô*. The *riô* also naturally differs in value at different periods. If we consider it as equivalent to the Mexican dollar, and take the value of the latter coin at 4s. 6d., it follows that the average price of the *koku*, in 1859, was a little over nine shillings, and in 1869 about two guineas. Mr. Mitford* states that the *koku* at its cheapest is worth more than a pound sterling, and sometimes almost three times as much. Till lately it was the measure of revenue, and officials were paid in it. The taxes were collected in rice instead of in money.

The land tax was considerable. Much information on this subject is contained in an article in the *Japan Mail* of July 8, 1873, from which the following extracts are taken.

Particulars
respecting
the land
tax.

According to the system of land taxation which has prevailed for many centuries, the *tan* of 300 *tsubos* (about $\frac{1}{4}$ acre) is the unit of measure. Land is prin-

Land is
principally
divided into
paddy and
arable.

* "Tales of Old Japan," vol. i. p. 96.

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cipally of two kinds, paddy land or *ta*, and arable land or *hata*. The tax on each *tan* is theoretically paid in kind, at a fixed rate in proportion to the productive capacity of the soil, but there are certain exceptions to this rule.

Four classes
of each kind.

There exist four classes of each kind of land—good, medium, inferior, and bad. In order to determine the class to which any particular plot of ground should belong, various things have to be taken into consideration, but the degree of natural fertility is, no doubt, the chief element of calculation in the case of arable land. In classing paddy land, the facilities for irrigating it are by far the most important consideration.

Last
general
survey
about two
centuries
and a half
ago.

A general survey seems to have been made about two centuries and a half ago, at least in that portion of the country under the immediate jurisdiction of the Tokugawa shôguns, and all surveys made since that time, up to the abolition of the shôgunate, have been merely partial. That general survey determined the class to which every plot of land then under cultivation belonged, and consequently the amount of tax leviable upon each. It is evident that the actual value of the land in effecting sales would be in proportion to the profits which remained to the holders after paying their taxes, that is to say, it would not necessarily depend upon the classification and amount of tax. The relation between the assessed produce and the tax, which in the shôgun's territories was ten to four, being the same for every class of ground, the prices of the four classes of land would at first be graduated, from the good land, which would sell highest, down to the bad, which would fetch the lowest price. In the course of time various alterations in the value of lands took place. Some-

Alteration
in value of
lands and
confusion
in the tax.

times part of a field was carried away by a flood, and thus the productive area was diminished; but the classification and the tax remained unaltered, so that the selling value diminished in a double ratio. Or the course of the stream which supplied certain fields might change, so that the paddy lands rated as "good" and subjected to high taxation became less fertile, while those which were rated as inferior and were liable to a low amount of tax produced more grain than formerly. This would naturally tend to lower the selling value in the one case, and raise it in the other, so that the proportion of tax to produce was no longer uniform. In some cases a farmer, in parting with a portion of his land, would undertake to pay on the portion which he retained the tax due on the whole, so that a class of untaxed lands came into existence. Sometimes he thus undertook to pay the tax on the whole of a lot which no longer stood in his name, and though he might be willing to bear the burden himself, his descendants grumbled at it, and frequently sought to get rid of it by complaining that they paid for lands which did not exist. There were also the paddy lands brought under cultivation since the latest survey, called *shinden*, on many of which no tax was paid at all. To add to the confusion, the rates on arable land were much lower in the Kuantô. The paddy land in the daimios' territories was gradually rated at a much higher production than in those over which the shôgun had jurisdiction, and the proportion of tax to produce, always much greater in the former than in the latter, was often different in contiguous villages. As for arable land, the tax seems to have varied according to the value of the crops raised, such as cotton, tea, corn, beans, tobacco, &c. The whole question of land tax is in fact so com-

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plicated, that one author, writing on the system which prevailed in the shôgun's dominions, has not been able to discuss it in less than twenty volumes.

Value of
paddy and
arable land.

It may further be mentioned that rice land is considered about five times as valuable as arable land. It is estimated that an investment in paddy land brings a return of about eight per cent. per annum to the cultivator. The rent and value of hill or forest land, which is not ploughed or sown, are immensely less than in the case of what is arable. The owners of the land can build as they like, without applying to the lord for his permission, so long as the consent of the other villagers is obtained, but objection is usually made to building on fields, because the allotments are so small that a house erected on one of them would keep the sun from the crop in the next. The houses of the peasants are therefore usually erected on what is called *yashikichi* or building land, which pays a slightly higher tax than arable. The peasants naturally hold to their land, and they look upon it as their absolute property, which no superior lord can touch. Ask a countryman, as has been done in my presence, whether the government could not resume possession of the land at will, and he will reply with indignation that it cannot; he will argue that the upper classes are dependent on the lower, not the lower on the upper, and that if the peasants did not cultivate the land the upper classes would simply starve. In other matters the peasants are in general easily governed; in the matter of money the government can take such liberties with them as could not be dreamt of in Europe. They can, and do, flood the whole country with paper money, without producing any distrust among the people, but they could not venture with impunity to touch the land.

Peasant's
houses.
The tax
upon them.

BOOK II.



CHAPTER I.

Peace—State of things Contrasted with the Present.

PEACE was now restored in Japan, and that peace endured almost uninterruptedly till 1868. The state of things during this period, and the contrast between it and that of the present day, is so well put in the able article from *Die Gegenwart* already once quoted, that I cannot refrain from inserting an extract from it here, although it should rather in some respects come later in this history. But the extract will, I believe, aid the reader in the general comprehension of the subject. This article is written, if I mistake not, by one who has long resided in Japan, and has devoted much time to studying that peculiar country.

CHAP.
I.

Peace.

The writer says :—

“ At last, after centuries of bloody civil wars, the yearned-for period of peace was to come. The arms fall from exhausted hands, and under the strong rule of the first shôguns of the Tokugawa family commerce and agriculture began to revive. From this time dates the proportionate prosperity of the country population

Extract
from *Die
Gegenwart.*

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I.

and of the tradesmen. It is true that the first heavy taxes took off forty to fifty, and often even more, per cent. from the produce of their fields, and they were frequently obliged to help to fill the empty purse of the State by voluntary forced loans, but there always remained sufficient for moderate pretensions, and if the oppressions of the local authorities ever became too severe, and the population murmured too loudly, the government stepped in, and thus, at a cheap rate, acquired for itself the glory of having cared for the well-being of the common people. For pleasure and recreation the light-heartedness of the people and the many holidays of the shintô worship and of Buddhism sufficed; on such days men, women, and children were to be seen carrying flowers or green branches, wending their way to the temples and tea-houses, and there enjoying themselves with food and drink, and fine views and plays; and even if they seldom returned home sober in the evening, the intoxication was a pleasant and peaceful one, and neither the people of the place nor strangers had to suffer from it. The advent of foreigners has made little change in these matters. It is true that the price of all the necessaries of life have risen four or five fold, not however because the quantity has diminished, but because intercourse with foreigners, who buy Japanese products at prices hitherto undreamt of and take them out of the country, has brought much ready money into it: thus the persons engaged in the silk, tea, and rice trade earn much more than formerly, the wages of day labourers and servants have risen, and on the whole the common people are not averse to intercourse with foreigners. They have been less content with the change in political circumstances. The husbandman was depen-

dent on his legitimate prince, for whose wants he willingly paid high taxes; for most of this money was spent at home, and the taxpayer could rejoice in the brilliancy and splendour, to the maintenance of which he must contribute. The officials of the princes were people established on the land, whose offices were inherited from father to son, and who were bound to the farmers and peasants by many ties of friendship and blood; notwithstanding some severity, the collection of the taxes and the other business of the administration were carried on with a certain good nature, and although the official did consider his own advantage, still it was only within certain limits. Now all this is changed. The old princes and officials have been deposed, and a portion of the latter in particular have been provided with insufficient pensions; they live in the midst of the old population, who are devoted to them, and they naturally allow no opportunity to pass for praising the past and decrying the present. Their places have been filled up by government officials taken from other provinces, men who are attached by no bond of sympathy to the people about whose weal or woe they have to decide; instead of a lessening of the taxes which, like all governments born of a revolution, that of the Mikado too had inscribed on its banners, an increase has of course resulted; the new official, whose only care is to display his zeal and usefulness to the remote central government, goes to work in collecting the taxes with reckless severity, and as he presumptively will only remain a short time in his post—revolutions devour their own children, and have continually more personal claims to satisfy than hereditary rulers—he is obliged to make so much the more haste, to look after his own profit as well.

CHAP.
I.

“The caste of nobles,* especially those in the lower grades, have fared still worse than the country people in the changes of the last fifteen years. The man who, whilst the civil war lasted, had not acquired property and land, had to depend for his maintenance on the good will of the last master he had served, and many of these masters must have found it hard to satisfy the numerous claims, and to stop the hungry mouths of faithful vassals. Many of them received small offices and posts, to which land and other sources of income were attached, but the great majority were obliged to be taken over as the personal followers of the lord into the new condition of life. It is evident that in this way pay and fare would not be very considerable. Rice for one to four persons, and five to ten thalers in money was all such a soldier received ; for this he had to keep watch at the castle, walk the streets in his lord’s suite, and several times a year, on particular occasions, show himself in a silk dress of ceremony ; the rest of the time he had at his own disposal, and as the honour of his class forbade him to engage in any business or handiwork, nothing else was left to him but to idle about in tea-houses and brothels, and to become a useless, if not a dangerous, member of society. In this way the most capable and the most violent among the nobility were ruined ; in them the traditions of the old time still lived ; they attempted by a dissolute life to deaden the feeling of uselessness which would often creep over them, and if debts or the commission of a crime compelled them to turn their backs on their own homes, they roamed about as masterless men, or *rônins*.† Many improved

* By “nobles” the writer means the *samurai* or military class.

† Wave-man. As has been often explained in previous publi-

their hard fate, and attempted as shop-keepers and schoolmasters to earn their livelihood honourably, but the majority led a wild life in one of the great cities, Yedo, Ôzaka, or Kiôto; they were the willing instruments of every conspiracy, whether the object was revolution or assassination, and their lot might be even considered enviable, if they ended their life in an honourable fight or in a tavern broil, and not on the rack or by the sword of the executioner.

“It fared better with the nobleman, who could conform himself to the condition which peace had created; he could at least exist. People were sometimes to be found sufficiently simple to purchase his worthless intercession by a present, and if he was fortunate enough to catch some peasant or citizen overstepping the law, or to assist him in doing so, matters went right with him for some time. Into this contemplative life, the opening of the land to commerce with foreigners fell like a thunderclap.”

cations, a *rônin* was a two-sworded man belonging to no clan, or a man who had renounced his clan for some particular purpose.

I have written *rônins*, daimios, &c., for the sake of clearness, although it is somewhat of a barbarism to make the plural of a Japanese word with an English suffix.

CHAPTER II.

1853—1854.

Everything was ripe for a Revolution—Arrival at Uraga of U. S. Squadron under Commodore Perry, with a Letter from the President to conclude a Treaty—Alarm of the Japanese—They agree to temporize—The Envoy leaves, promising to return the next Spring—Death of the Shôgun Iyâyoshi—Succeeded by his son Iyêsada—Return of Commodore Perry—Arguments for and against admission of Foreigners—Signature of Treaty—Admiral Stirling's Convention.

CHAP.
II.

Failure of
intrigues
against the
Tokugawa
shôguns.

DURING the long period of peace which thus succeeded the establishment of the Tokugawa dynasty of shôguns, the intrigues against it on the part of jealous and ambitious daimios (and such there doubtless were from time to time, especially in connection with the Court at Kiôto) entirely failed, and the shôgun of the day, or his officials, virtually ruled the empire from Yedo.

Advent of
foreigners.

But the advent of foreigners changed the complexion of affairs, and gave an additional impetus to the machinations of the daimios who chafed under the usurpation of the greatest among them, and of those members of the Court party who were their allies. Indeed, when the foreigner appeared on the scene, everything was already rife for a revolution in the old style, and for the substitution of a fresh

dynasty for the worn-out Tokugawa dynasty. And it is now quite evident that the imperfect government of the shôgun was not adapted to the new order of things which succeeded the signing of treaties with foreign nations. It is essential for the reader to understand that, from the moment those treaties came into force, the fall of the shôgunate became a mere question of time, and that nothing could have saved it. As far as the establishment of commercial and friendly relations of a permanent nature with Europe and the United States was concerned, the sooner it was abolished the better. It was not the *supreme* power, and yet in its dealings with other powers and their representatives it pretended to be so. Hence, as will be seen, perpetual subterfuges and a daily resort to small tricks for the purpose of keeping up the delusion, and of preventing foreigners from becoming aware of the important fact (which, however, could not long be concealed) that he, to whom the treaties and the diplomatic agents had accorded the title of "Majesty," had no right to be so styled, and was not the Emperor of Japan.

CHAP.
II.

Signature
of treaties
a death-
blow to the
shôgunate.

Although this fact is now patent to every one, many foreigners clung with curious obstinacy, even up to a late date, to the false idea that the "Tycoon" was the *temporal* sovereign of the country, and that he would soon "return to power," as they were wont to express what they would have found difficult to explain or define.

The shôgun
or
"Tycoon"
not the
temporal
sovereign.

We now come to the first years of foreign intercourse. And in considering them we shall derive much assistance from the Blue Books presented to Parliament, and from some native productions, especially one called *Genji yumé monogatari* (the story of

CHAP.
II.

the dream of *Genji*),* which gives a narration of various occurrences from 1850 to 1864, and attributes the origin of the fight in Kiotô, which occurred in the latter year, to the circumstance of the arrival of foreigners in Japan after the long period of non-intercourse.

Dutch alone
had inter-
course with
Japan.

The different attempts of foreigners of various nations to break through the isolation in which Japan had persisted since the expulsion of the Christians are recorded in the last chapters of Hildreth's "Japan as it Was and Is."† None but Dutch were allowed a footing in the country, and they were still confined to the small island of Déshima, off Nagasaki. The government of the United States, however, determined to make one more attempt to establish intercourse with the Japanese, and as the humouring policy of the naval officers who had previously visited the coast had not proved successful, it was decided to despatch an envoy with a naval force sufficient to ensure him a respectful hearing. Of this expedition Commodore Matthew G. Perry was selected as head, and he finally set sail towards the end of 1852, furnished with a letter from President Fillmore to the Emperor of Japan, and with instructions to conclude a treaty. The objects of the treaty were declared in a letter dated November 2, 1852, from the State Department to the Secretary of the Navy, as follows:—‡

The United
States
expedition
under
Commodore
Perry.

Objects of
the desired
treaty.

"1. To effect some permanent arrangement for the protection of American seamen and property

* Translated by Ernest Satow, and published in the columns of the *Japan Mail*.

† By Richard Hildreth. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co.; New York: J. C. Darby. 1855.

‡ Hildreth's "Japan as it Was and Is," p. 508.

wrecked on those islands, or driven into their ports by stress of weather. CHAP.
II.

“2. The permission to American vessels to enter one or more of their ports, in order to obtain supplies of provisions, water, fuel, &c. ; or, in case of disasters, to refit so as to enable them to prosecute their voyage. It is very desirable to have permission to establish a depôt for coal, if not on one of the principal islands, at least on some small uninhabited one, of which it is said there are several in their vicinity.

“3. The permission to our vessels to enter one or more of their ports for the purpose of disposing of their cargoes by sale or barter.”

Commodore Perry proceeded by way of Madeira and the Cape of Good Hope to Hong Kong and Shanghai, and ultimately in July, 1853, arrived off Uraga, at the entrance of the passage leading to Yokohama and Yedo. His squadron consisted of the steam frigates “Susquehanna” and “Mississippi,” and the sloops of war “Plymouth” and “Saratoga.” The further account of his narrative, as taken from the official documents printed by order of the United States Senate, will be found in Mr. Hildreth’s book. I will here follow the *Genji yumé monogatari*.

It was in the summer of 1853 that, as the author states, an individual named Perry, who called himself the envoy of the United States of America, suddenly arrived at Uraga in the province of Sagami with four ships of war, declaring that he brought a letter from his country to Japan, and that he wished to deliver it to the sovereign. The governor of the place, Toda Idzuno kami, much alarmed by this extraordinary event, hastened to the spot to inform himself of its meaning. The envoy stated, in reply to questions, that he de-

Arrival
off Uraga in
July, 1853,
with four
ships of
war.

Account
from the
*Genji yumé
monogatari*.

Alarm of
the gover-
nor.

CHAP.
II.Confusion
at Yedo.

sired to see a chief minister, in order to explain the object of his visit, and to hand over to him the letter with which he was charged. The governor then despatched a messenger on horseback with all haste to carry this information to the castle of Yedo, where a great scene of confusion ensued on his arrival. Fresh messengers followed, and the Shôgun Iyéyoshi, on receiving them, was exceedingly troubled, and summoned all the officials to a council. At first the affair seemed so sudden and so formidable, that they were too alarmed to open their mouths, but in the end orders were issued to the great clans to keep strict watch at various points on the shore, as it was possible that the "barbarian" vessels might proceed to commit acts of violence. A learned Chinese scholar was sent to Uraga, had an interview with the American envoy, and returned with the letter, which expressed the desire of the United States to establish friendship and intercourse with Japan, and said, according to this account, that if they met with a refusal they should commence hostilities.

Conflicting
opinions.

Thereupon the shôgun was greatly distressed, and again summoned a council. He also asked the opinion of the daimios. "The assembled officials were exceedingly disturbed, and nearly broke their hearts over consultations which lasted all day and all night. The nobles and retired nobles * in Yedo were informed that they were at liberty to state any ideas they might have on the subject, and, although they all gave their opinions, the diversity of propositions was so

* When a daimio retired from his office, probably in favour of his son, he became *inkio*, from two Chinese characters, meaning "dwelling in private." Like the ex-emperors, he often retained the power, and administered the principality.

great, that no decision was arrived at. The military class had during a long peace neglected military arts; they had given themselves up to pleasure and luxury, and there were very few who had put on armour for many years. So that they were greatly alarmed at the prospect that war might break out at a moment's notice, and began to run hither and thither in search of arms. The city of Yedo and the surrounding villages were in a great tumult; in anticipation of the war which seemed imminent, the people carried off their valuables and furniture in all directions, in order to conceal them in the houses of friends living farther off, and there was such a state of confusion among all classes that the governors of the city were compelled to issue a notification to the people, and this in the end had the effect of quieting the general anxiety. But in the castle never was a decision further from being aimed at, and whilst time was being thus idly wasted, the envoy was constantly demanding an answer. So at last they decided that it would be best to arrange the affair quietly, to give the foreigners the articles they wanted, and to put off sending an answer to the letter; to tell the envoy that in an affair of such importance to the State no decision could be arrived at without mature consideration, and that he had better go away; that in a short time he should get a definite answer. The envoy agreed, and, after sending a message to say that he should return in the following spring for his answer, set sail from Uraga with his four ships. The Shôgun Iyéyoshi had been ill since the commencement of the summer, and had been rendered very anxious about this sudden and pressing affair of the outer barbarians. Perhaps it was this cause which now made his illness so severe that he died on the 22nd day of

It is agreed to temporize. The envoy leaves.

August 25. Death of Iyéyoshi.

CHAP.
II.

the 7th month. The assembled retainers entirely lost their heads, and both high and low were plunged into the deepest grief. He was buried at Zôjôji, and received the title of Shintoku-in.” *

Is succeeded
by his son
Iyêsada.

The death of the shôgun at this particular crisis was at least suspicious. He was succeeded by his son Iyêsada, thirteenth of the Tokugawa line.

1854. Re-
turn of
Commodore
Perry. Ar-
guments
respecting
the admis-
sion of
foreigners.

Early in 1854 Commodore Perry returned, and the question of acceding to his demands was again hotly debated. The old Prince of Mito was opposed to it, and contended that the admission of foreigners into Japan would ruin it. “At first,” said he, “they will give us philosophical instruments, machinery, and other curiosities, will take ignorant people in, and, trade being their chief object, they will manage bit by bit to impoverish the country; after which they will treat us just as they like; perhaps behave with the greatest rudeness and insult us, and end by swallowing up Japan. If we do not drive them away now, we shall never have another opportunity. If we now resort to a dilatory method of proceeding, we shall regret it afterwards when it will be of no use.” The officials, however, argued otherwise, and said: “If we try to drive them away, they will immediately commence hostilities, and then we shall be obliged to fight. If we once get into a dispute, we shall have an enemy to fight who will not be easily disposed of. He does not care how long a time he will have to spend over it, but he will come with several myriads of men-of-war and

* Zôjôji is the name of the temple in Yedo, generally called Shiba by foreigners. Shiba is really the name of the part of the city in which the temple is situated. Shintoku-in is the name given by the Buddhist priests to the shrine built in honour of the departed shôgun, and he is known thereby after death.—E. S.

surround our shores completely : he will capture our junks and blockade our ports, and deprive us of all hope of protecting our coasts. However large a number of ships we might destroy, he is so accustomed to that sort of thing that he would not care in the least. Even supposing that our troops were animated by patriotic zeal in the commencement of the war, after they had been fighting for several years their patriotic zeal would naturally become relaxed ; the soldiers would become fatigued, and we should have to thank ourselves for this. Soldiers who have distinguished themselves are rewarded by grants of land, or else you attack and seize the enemy's territory, and that becomes your own property ; so every man is encouraged to fight his best. But in a war with foreign countries, a man may undergo hardships for years, may fight as if his life were worth nothing, and, as all the land in this country has already owners, there will be none to be given away as rewards ; so we shall have to give rewards in words or money. In time the country would be put to an immense expense, and the people be plunged into misery. Rather than allow this, as we are not the equals of foreigners in the mechanical arts, let us have intercourse with foreign countries, learn their drill and tactics, and when we have made the nation as united as one family, we shall be able to go abroad and give lands in foreign countries to those who have distinguished themselves in battle ; the soldiers will vie with one another in displaying their intrepidity, and it will not be too late then to declare war. Now we shall have to defend ourselves against these foreign enemies skilled in the use of mechanical appliances, with our soldiers whose military skill has considerably diminished during a long peace of three hundred years,

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II.

and we certainly could not feel sure of victory, especially in a naval war."

I have transcribed the words put into the mouths of the shôgun's officials by the native author, as they seem to me significative of the opinions which have been held by many Japanese as to the course to be pursued by their government with regard to foreigners. In this respect whether they are the exact arguments then used becomes less material. The idea of not making war as there would be no lands to reward the victorious soldiers is peculiar, though not surprising, when it is recollected that in the civil wars which desolated the country for so many years grants of land were constantly bestowed on the warriors who had helped to gain the victory.

March 31,
1854. Signa-
ture of
treaty.

Eventually the treaty was concluded on the 31st of March, 1854. Three copies signed by the Japanese Commissioners were delivered to Commodore Perry, and he gave to them in exchange three copies in English, signed by himself, with Dutch and Chinese translations. The ports of Shimoda, in the province of Idzu, and of Hakodaté, in the island of Yezo, were opened for the reception of American ships, to be supplied with such articles as wood, water, provisions, and coal. There were stipulations with respect to the treatment of shipwrecked men, there was an article giving facilities for trading, a favoured nations' clause, and an article providing for the appointment by the government of the United States of consuls or agents to reside in Shimoda, provided that either of the two governments deemed such arrangements necessary.

Its principal
provisions.

Admiral
Stirling's
convention.

In the same year Admiral Sir James Stirling anchored with H.M. ship "Winchester" and a squadron, and concluded a convention with Japan, which will be found in the Blue Book.

CHAPTER III.

The Court Troubled.—Explanations of the Shôgun's Officials.—
Councils at Kiôto.—Consent to Treaties Refused.—Anxiety
in Yedo.—Appointment of Ii Kamon no Kami as Tairô.

BUT when the Emperor and his Court heard of the arrival of foreigners, and of the proceedings at Yedo, they were greatly troubled, and the shôgun's officials, fearing the consequences of their acts, sent messengers to Kiôto to communicate what had happened. They said that affairs in Kuantô had reached such a condition that they had been obliged to grant a treaty whereby ports would be opened to foreigners, and that it was intended to open one near Kanagawa in the province of Musashi;* that they ardently desired that the Emperor and the shôgun should come to a good understanding with each other, and, handing over the trading regulations and certain documents connected with the matter, they begged that his Majesty might be induced to give his approval to them.

Upon this the Emperor was much disturbed, and called a council, which was attended by a number of princes of the blood and kugés, and much violent language was uttered. "Our country," they are reported to have said, "has from ancient times refused

CHAP.
III.
The Court is
troubled.

The Em-
peror calls
a council.

* *i. e.* Yokohama, then a mere village.

CHAP.
III.

all intercourse with foreign nations; a myriad of sovereigns in one unbroken line have occupied its throne, and it is an independent empire. Shall we let these people pollute one inch of our territory? But the shôgun's officials, by a wilful error, have given permission for friendly relations and commerce; worse than this, they have promised to open ports, acts which must excite the profoundest indignation."

Consent to
the treaties
withheld.

The unanimous opinion of all present was that the Mikado's court could never for one moment give its consent to such action, and this opinion was accordingly committed to paper, signed, and sent up to the Emperor, who concurred, and caused the messengers from Yedo to be informed of the imperial decision that treaties with foreigners could not be recognized.

Anxiety in
Yedo.

Other messengers who were sent subsequently met with equal ill success, and much anxiety was felt in Yedo. That the Emperor should refuse to accede to this petition for admitting the foreigners was felt to be a blow which might seriously compromise the prestige of the shôgun. There was nothing for it but to appoint the ablest man at his command to the office of tairô,* or regent, and Ii Kamon no Kami, the lord of Hikoné, was accordingly chosen to fill it. The choice was well made, and this daimio, taking the reins of government into his hands, virtually ruled in the name of the shôgun, and, in direct contravention to the imperial will, negotiated with foreign nations for the opening of ports for trade with them.

Ii Kamon
no Kami is
appointed
regent.

* *Go-tairô* it has generally been written by foreigners, but the *go* is simply honorific. *Tai* means great, and *rô* elder.

CHAPTER IV.

1858.

Conclusion of Treaties with the United States, Great Britain, France.—Yokohama becomes the open port instead of Kanagawa.—Breach between Emperor and Shôgun becomes wider.—Death of Iyêsada.—Contest for the Succession.—The Regent secures Iyémochi's election.—The Court is offended and sends a secret order to the Prince of Mito.—The Regent punishes the favourers of the expulsion of Foreigners.

ON the 29th of July, 1858, Mr. Townsend Harris, after many delays, succeeded in concluding a fresh treaty with Japan on behalf of the United States, and, as is well known, this treaty was followed by similar ones with Great Britain, France,* and other nations.

The port opened to the commerce of foreigners in the neighbourhood of Yedo was Kanagawa. This is a post station on the tôkaidô, one of the great routes leading from Yedo to Kiôto, and is situated on an inlet of the bay leading up to the former city. Kanagawa, however, is not the residence of the foreign population. The shôgun's government, surprised into signing the treaties, were but too well aware of

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IV.

1858.
Treaties
with
America,
Great
Britain, and
France.

Kanagawa
opened to
foreigners.
Reasons
why they
settled at
Yokohama
instead.

* The treaty with Great Britain was signed on the 26th of August, that with France on the 9th of October, 1858.

CHAP.
IV.

the imminent danger, at that period, of allowing the strangers to establish themselves permanently along the high road which was continually traversed by large trains of daimios journeying to or fro from Yedo. They knew that the first consequence would be the murder of any foreigners who happened to be on the line of march, and who did not at once prostrate themselves before the native noble,—who, in fact, came between the wind and his nobility,—and they therefore hastened to erect official and other buildings, and to offer plots of ground to the foreigners, on a spot opposite Kanagawa, where at that period there was nothing but a small fishing village called Yokohama. The foreign merchants, on their arrival, immediately perceived the advantage of the position of Yokohama over that of Kanagawa, both in point of space, and of accessibility for ships. So they chimed in with the projects of the Japanese to substitute for a residence on the dangerous high road the safer and more convenient Yokohama. Some foreign officials took up their abode in Kanagawa for a period, but for many years all have resided in the flourishing settlement which has grown up opposite, and is the seat of government of the Kanagawa Ken or prefecture.

The British consul, however, similarly with his colleagues, is still styled her Majesty's Consul at *Kanagawa*.

The breach thus made between the Emperor and the shôgun widened daily. A powerful party of the daimios banded together against the latter, those of Tosa, Hizen, Sendai, Inaba, Uwajima, and Tsuyama sent in memorials advocating the shutting of the ports and the expulsion of the "barbarians," but to no

effect. Their power was not sufficient to make way against that of the *tairô*.

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IV.

To add to the troubles of this critical period a terrible pestilence swept over the land, and on the eighth day of the seventh month (August 15) the Shôgun Iyêsada died suddenly, after, as it was said, only one day's illness. Was his death connected with the negotiations and the conclusion of treaties with foreigners? Probably it was.

Pestilence.

Death of
Shôgun
Iyêsada on
August 15.

Iyêsada left no heirs, and there was a great discussion as to who, out of the three families of Owari, Mito, and Kishiu, from whom alone, as already mentioned, the choice could be made, should succeed him. The old Prince of Mito was anxious that his seventh son should be chosen, and a strong party favoured this choice. As the latter played a leading part in subsequent events, and has become famous in history as the last of the "Tycoons," it will be well to give a slight sketch of his early life.

Contest
as to
successor.

He was the seventh son of Nariaki, Prince of Mito, who was blessed with a very large family, the number of his sons being stated at 18, and of his daughters at 25. But of all these the seventh son, who was born in 1837, was by far the cleverest, and seems to have shown much talent at an early age. In his eleventh year he was adopted into the house of Hitotsûbashi,* and removed from the Mito Yashiki in Yedo to that of the family into which he was adopted. It is recorded that his new retainers looked down upon him at first because of his youth, and that one day,

Hitotsû-
bashi.

* Hence the appellation "Stotsbashi" generally given by foreigners to the last of the shôguns. According to the Yedo pronunciation, this word ought, perhaps, to be written Shitotsûbashi. The *u* is very short.

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IV.

when he was out in the garden with a number of them in attendance, one of the men discovered a small snake close to the pond, and attempted to catch it, but the snake eluded his efforts and escaped. At this, as the story goes, the young lord was much disturbed, saying, "A snake is a poisonous thing; if you do not kill it, great harm will come. Why did you not kill it?" His retainers, seeing that he was angry, pleaded in excuse that a large snake was a thing to be dreaded, but not so a small one. "What," answered the youth, "because it is a small thing, is it not to be feared?" This he said probably because, being young in years and as yet small in stature, he compared the snake to himself, and he wished to show his retainers that they must not despise him, even though he was of tender age. And his retainers, when they heard what their young lord said, marvelled at his ability.

When he was fifteen years old, he took the name of *Kéiki* or *Yoshinobu*.^{*} At the age of eighteen he is described as being proficient in all the accomplishments which constitute the education of a Japanese of high rank. Not only was he well versed in manly exercises, such as horsemanship, the bow, the gun, the lance, and the sword, but his admirers declare that none could rival him in the composition of Japanese and Chinese poetry, in knowledge of history, in dramatic performances, and other such arts.

This was the youth, now twenty-one years of age, who was put forward by a strong party as the most

^{*} *Kéiki* is the Japanese pronunciation of the two Chinese characters which represent the name. *Yoshinobu* is the Japanese equivalent of these two characters. Most foreigners and a good many natives fancy his name to be *Yoshihisa*, but this is a mistake.—E. S.

fitting successor to the deceased shôgun in the actual political crisis. But Ii Kamon no Kami would not give his consent; he alleged that the late lord had desired Kikuchiyo of the Kishiu family to be his successor, and had talked of adopting him as his son; and such was the influence of the regent that he eventually secured the election of this boy of twelve years old as successor to the line of the Tokugawa family, and fourteenth shôgun of the house. He was the thirteenth child of the eleventh shôgun, and cousin of Iyêsada, and he subsequently took the name of Iyémochi.

The regent
secures the
election of
Iyémochi.

Strange reports respecting the sudden death of Iyêsada having got into circulation, Ii Kamon no Kami, whose power was now greater than ever, suspected the old Prince of Mito of foul play, and he forced all those who had espoused the candidature of Hitotsûbashi to retire from public life. Amongst other punishments, Nariaki himself was put into the strictest confinement in his own palace at Yedo, the Princes of Owari, Hizen, Tosa, and Uwajima were ordered to retire into private life, Hitotsûbashi was forbidden to appear at the castle, and directed to remain in confinement at home, and the daimios of Satsuma, Sendai, Inshiu, and Tsuyama were also forced to remain in their houses with closed doors. But the imperial Court was deeply offended by the arbitrary way in which the officials of the bakufu*

He punishes
those who
had
favoured
Hitotsû-
bashi's
candida-
ture.

The Court
is offended
with the
regent,
and sends
a secret
order to
Nariaki.

* *Baku* is a curtain such as the Japanese used in war to enclose the part of the camp occupied by the general, and in peace by picnic parties. *Fu* is properly an "office," and is used in many compounds. *Seifu*, government, is literally administration-office. *Tôkei fu* is the office from which Tôkei or Yedo is governed: In the old government anterior to Yoritomo, the six

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IV.

(shôgun's government) acted, and at their insult to the Emperor by disobeying his will, and his Majesty, after summoning the kugés, caused a secret order to be sent to the old Prince of Mito. This order stated that his Majesty had heard that affairs were not quiet in the Kuantô, and the prince was therefore commanded to use all his endeavours with the bakufu to reconcile the existing differences, and to induce that government to sweep away the "barbarians" at once. The receipt of this order delighted Narikane, and he gratefully accepted the commission.

The regent punishes the favourers of the expulsion of foreigners.

Ii Kamon no Kami, however, was still supreme, and he despatched a messenger to Kiôto to announce the punishment of those who had been active in setting up the scheme for the expulsion of foreigners. A large number were arrested both there and in Yedo, and were imprisoned in the latter city, those of them having been brought away under strict guard. They were ultimately tried in Yedo, and punishment of various degrees, such as death by disembowelling, or by decapitation, banishment to distant islands, and house-confinement, were extensively awarded and carried out.

The military guards were called *rokuyé fu*. The court from which they were drawn was the official one, and hence the office was called *rokuyé fu*. The country was administered by the military vassals, called *shôgun*, *i.e.* curtain-office.—E. S.

CHAPTER V.

1859—1860.

Establishment of Diplomatic Relations.—Arrival of Mr. Alcock.
 —Murders of Foreigners and Natives in their Employ.—
 Murder of Ii Kamon no Kami.

IN 1859 regular diplomatic relations were established between Great Britain and Japan. In a despatch, dated the 9th of July, Mr. Alcock announced to the Earl of Malmesbury his arrival in Yedo on the 26th of the preceding month, and his subsequent reception by the Minister for Foreign Affairs as her Majesty's Consul-General. Towards the end of the year he was also appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. Mr. Townsend Harris was already on the spot as representative of the United States, and representatives of other nations followed in due course.

CHAP.
V.
June 26.
Arrival of
Mr. Alcock,
a British
Consul-
General,
subsequent-
ly Envoy
Extraordi-
nary.

Other
representa-
tives.

The vigorous action of Ii Kamon no Kami had thus heightened the military prestige of the shôgunate, and the regent asserted his authority throughout the empire. He was generally nicknamed "the swaggering chief minister." But these high-handed proceedings were regarded with indignation by the party who opposed the admission of foreigners to the sacred soil

CHAP.
V.

Murders of
foreigners
and natives
in their
employ.

Some of
these were
probably
instigated
by Nariaki.

of Japan, and the result was shown in a series of revolting murders, both of foreigners and of persons in their employ. In 1859, on the 25th of August, a Russian officer and two sailors were cut down and mutilated in the streets of Yokohama; and, on the 6th of November, the French Consul's Chinese servant, dressed in European clothes, was also killed in that town. In 1860, on the 30th of January, Denkichi, Mr. Alcock's Japanese linguist (also in European clothes), was mortally wounded at the very gateway of the Envoy's residence; and, on the 26th of February, two Dutchmen, masters of merchant vessels, were hacked to pieces in the streets of Yokohama. It is most probable, as has been asserted, that some at least of these murders were committed at the instigation of the ex-Prince of Mito, acting for the retrograde party at Kiôto; and it has been remarked as a curious, though perhaps an accidental, coincidence that the time chosen for such a deed generally corresponded with the presence of foreign ships of war in the waters near Yedo. Thus, when the Russians were killed, Count Mouravieff and a Russian squadron were there; the French Consul's servant was cut down whilst the United States frigate "Powhatan" was in Yokohama harbour; and when Denkichi was murdered, there happened to be in Yedo bay, for the first time since Mr. Alcock's arrival in Japan, two British ships of war.* In the case of the murder of the Chinese servant, however, it should be stated that he is supposed to have been slain by a native who had been insulted by a European, and who mistook the nationality of the man, owing to his dress.

* *Vide* despatches from Mr. Alcock, presented to Parliament, 1860.

Next in order comes the murder of the regent himself. It is thus related in the publication already quoted from :—

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“On the third day of the third month (23rd of March, 1860*) all the daimios went to the castle to offer the usual compliments to the shôgun. Amongst them was the regent, Ii Kamon no Kami, who set forth from his yashiki near the Sakurada gate in a palanquin. It was eight o'clock in the morning, and the snow was falling heavily. As he approached the Sakurada gate seventeen or eighteen men of *rônin*-like appearance rose from the side of the road, and attacked the palanquin in which Ii Kamon no Kami was riding. The attendants quite lost their heads from the suddenness of the onslaught, and four or five of them were at once cut down, a great number of others being wounded. Most of them fled, but some young *samurai*, nerved by a sense of shame, stopped and drew their swords in defence of their chief. The enemy, however, was desperate, and advanced resolutely upon them, so that Kada Kurô, Ozawamura, Gonroku, Kawanishi, Chiuzaemon, and others of the Hikoné† clan were killed on the spot. During the fight the palanquin was hurried back to the yashiki, in ignorance whether the chiujô ‡ was alive or dead.” §

March 24.
Murder of
the regent.

The true account of this affair seems to be that a

* The date given by Mr. Alcock is the 24th.

† The clan of which the regent was chief. Hikoné is the name of what was the capital, or castle town of the clan.

‡ Chiujô, middle general, or general of the second class, the rank at the Emperor's Court held by the regent. See note to p. 50.

§ It was essential that he should at least be reported to have died in his own house, or his estates might have been confiscated.

—E. S.

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V.

pistol was first fired into the palanquin, wounding the regent in the back, that he was forced to get out, and was then despatched, his head being cut off and carried away. The head is stated to have been afterwards taken to the castle town of Mito, and there exposed on a pole, to which a paper of abusive writing was attached. One great cause of the hatred felt towards the regent was the increase of prices which had followed his policy of opening ports to foreign trade.

The men concerned in the murder seem to have been eighteen in number, all originally retainers of Mito, except Arimura Jisayémon, who belonged to the Satsuma clan. Some were killed on the spot, or died of their wounds subsequently, and some delivered themselves up afterwards, and were finally put to death.

Document
found on the
murderers
explaining
the reasons
of the deed.

In former times, when a Japanese turned *rônin*, in order to perpetrate some deed of blood for political purposes, he always, before setting out on the enterprise, which would most probably end in his death, copied on paper a document purporting to give the reasons for his conduct, and he placed this document in the bosom of his dress. Thus, in this case, as is recorded, "each of them had in the bosom of his dress a document explaining that their object was to kill a traitor; it said that the Emperor had been pleased with the patriotism and loyalty displayed for many years by the old Prince of Mito, and had graciously sent him an order.* That Nawosüké Ason,† in arrogance of power, had insulted the imperial decree, and, careless

* This is the secret order already mentioned. See p. 122.

† Nawosüké was the regent's personal name. Ason means servant of the Court.—E. S.

of the misery of the people, but making foreign intercourse his chief aim, had opened ports, had imprisoned or confined to their houses loyal princes of the blood, nobles of the court, and territorial nobles; had insulted their old prince, and had put to death loyal and patriotic men in great numbers. That, unable to restrain their indignation, and in view of his great crimes, which heaven and earth could not tolerate, they, in heaven's name, disregarding his high office of regent, had punished him."

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V.

This bloody deed caused much commotion in Yedo. The death of the regent was a severe loss to the Liberal party in Japan, and the influence of the shôgun's government was thereby greatly lessened. Still such a power was not to be broken down at once, and the struggle between it and the Kiôto party continued with varying success during the succeeding years. Feeling hampered by the hostility of their native opponents, and divided amongst themselves, as some of their number were avowedly opposed to a friendly policy towards foreigners, the Yedo government used every effort, during the remainder of 1860, to isolate the Representatives* of treaty powers as much as possible, and, contenting themselves with being lavish in promises, they did not in any one instance bring to justice a single individual connected with any of the assassinations above recorded. In fact, so insecure was their position, that they did not venture to allow any of their own countrymen to be punished for the murder of an "outer barbarian."

Death of
regent a
loss to
Liberal
party.
Influence
of bakufu
declines.

Bakufu
seeks to
isolate
foreign
representa-
tives, and
no mur-
derer of
a foreigner
is punished.

* There were now five. Besides the American, English, and French, there were Graf zu Eulenburg from Prussia, and Mr. van Polsbroek from Holland.

CHAPTER VI.

1861.

Diplomatic Agents warned against Rônins.—Murder of Mr. Heusken.—Suicide of Hori Oribé no-Kami.—The British, French, and Dutch Representatives retire to Yokohama.—Return of the two former on the Shôgun's Invitation.—Proposal for Emperor's Sister to marry the Shôgun accepted.—Attack on the British Legation at Tozenji.—Probably instigated by ex-Prince of Mito.—Dilemma of Shôgun's Government.—Their desire to defer opening of Ports.—Mr. Oliphant returns to England with a Letter from the Shôgun.—An equivalent is desired by Earl Russell.—Death of ex-Prince of Mito.

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VI.

January 1,
1861. Go-
vernment
inform
diplomatic
agents that
rônins were
going to at-
tack them.

ON the 1st of January, 1861, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs informed all the diplomatic agents in Yedo that a band of five hundred *rônins* had conspired to attack the different legations, and to kill all the members thereof; and they requested these agents to take refuge, with their respective *personnel*, in one place within the castle moats, until these disturbers of the peace could be seized, or the country was reported to be more tranquil. This request was of course refused. There seems to be no doubt that a large number of dissatisfied men had actually collected together in the

neighbouring provinces, with a design of attacking the foreigners.

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On the 14th of the same month, Mr. Heusken, interpreter and acting secretary to the American legation, was attacked and mortally wounded by a band of six or seven men, when riding home from the Prussian legation in Yedo at night. The bridge across the Furukawa, on which the attack was made, is within sight of one of the entrances to the burial-ground of the shôguns in Shiba.

January 14.
Murder of
Mr. Heus-
ken.

This foul deed can hardly be attributed to the same motives as those which originated previous assassinations. Its cause is rather to be sought in the private enmity existing between Mr. Heusken and Hori Oribé no Kami, a minister for foreign affairs, who was one of the reactionary party, and with whom the former had been on very bad terms. Hori had written to Mr. Heusken, requesting him to desist from going out in Yedo of an evening, because the streets were not perfectly safe, and arguing that inasmuch as the Japanese government were made responsible for the security of strangers, it was for the latter to submit to the measures of precaution which that government might consider necessary. To this communication, couched in somewhat bitter terms, Mr. Heusken replied that he should go out whenever he pleased, and that he should know how to defend himself against any one who might attack him. After the receipt of this answer, it is said that Hori had a violent dispute on the question of expelling foreigners with Andô Tsushima no Kami, one of the rôjiu,* who was well known as a strong advocate of liberal opinions;

Probable
motive for
this deed.
Dispute
with Hori
Oribé no
Kami.

* Generally termed Go-rôjiu, but the go is simply honorific. Rôjiu means council of elders.

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VI.

Suicide of
Hori Oribé
no Kami.

and that it was upon the conclusion of the altercation that Hori, returning home, called his retainers about him, and, with that calm dignity and imperturbable *sang-froid* which was wont to characterize the Japanese of high birth on such occasions, put an end to his life by *hara kiri*.* One account states that this discussion had reference to the proposition of Andô to build residences for the foreign representatives at Gotenyama, close to Yedo. Allusion will be made to this later. The proposition had, it appears, been persistently opposed by Hori.

The Japanese attempt to deter the diplomatic agents from attending Mr. Heusken's funeral.

The usual protestations of sympathy, and the usual promises to discover and punish the assassins of Mr. Heusken, were forthwith made by the Japanese ministers, but all without result; and in this instance the latter even went so far as to warn the diplomatic agents that they would incur danger if they attended the funeral of the murdered man. And yet no precautionary measures were taken by the native authorities on the line of road, to protect those very foreigners whose lives they declared to be in peril! A guard of English, Prussian, and Dutch marines from the vessels of war in harbour at Yokohama was organized, and accompanied the five Representatives † to the place of burial, and all passed off quietly. At the same time the Japanese availed themselves of the opportunity, under the plea of providing for the future safety of the diplomatic agents, to surround the residences of the latter with

* *Vide* "Un Voyage autour du Japon," par Rudolph Lindau, pp. 144—147.

† Of France, Great Britain, Holland, Prussia, and the United States.

crowds of two-sworded men, who lived in the very grounds and courtyards of the legations, and were mere spies, almost useless for defensive purposes. The object of such proceedings evidently was, by a system of persistent isolation, to drive the Representatives away from the city, preparatory to an attempt to rid the country of every single foreigner.

In this policy the government of the shôgun partially succeeded, for, towards the end of January, the British, French, and Dutch Representatives, finding that the government were not willing, or had not the power, to protect them, removed to Yokohama for a period; Mr. Harris, the United States' minister, it should be remarked, took a different view of the position, and, considering that, as long as he observed the precautions recommended by the government, he was safe, remained in Yedo. This triumph on the part of the Japanese was, however, of short duration; and after some conferences and much negotiation, Mr. Alcock and M. Duchesne de Bellecourt returned, on the second of March, to the capital, by invitation of the shôgun, who pledged himself, by and with his council of elders, to provide effectually for the security of the legations, and for their future exemption alike from violence and menace.

They succeeded in inducing three representatives to withdraw to Yokohama. Mr. Harris remains.

March 2. Return of British and French representatives on the shôgun's invitation.

The graves of Mr. Heusken and of Denkichi, Mr. Alcock's ill-starred interpreter, are to be seen in the somewhat dilapidated cemetery of the temple called Kôrinji or Jigenzan, on the left bank of the little river Furukawa, not far from the English legation in Takanawa (the southern suburb of Yedo). We passed it often in our walks, and one afternoon I transcribed the English inscriptions, which are as follows:—

Graves of Mr. Heusken and of Denkichi.



SACRED

To the Memory of
HENRY C. J. HEUSKEN,
Interpreter to the
AMERICAN LEGATION
in Japan.

Born at Amsterdam,
January 20, 1832;
DIED AT YEDO,
January 16, 1861.

DANKUTCI,
Japanese LINGUIST
to the
BRITISH LEGATION.
MURDERED
by
JAPANESE ASSASSINS,
29th January, 1860.

State of
affairs.

The state of affairs at this period is thus referred to by the author of the *Genji yumé monogatari*: "Trade increased from day to day, and the prices of everything rose; the industrious poor, oppressed by this tyrannous government, naturally hated and abused it without ceasing. The military prestige of the Tokugawa family, which had endured for three hundred years, gradually began to decline from this time. The *kakurô*,* *sansei*,† and officials of all classes consulted together. They said: 'Because the territorial nobles have obeyed the orders of the Court, and have rebelled against those of the bakufu; because they have insulted the officials of the shôgunate, and have thirsted to serve the interests of the Sovereign to the utmost of their power, therefore the prestige of the Court grows from day to day, while the authority of the bakufu declines. If we are willing that this

* Another name for the rôjiu.

† The *Wakadoshiyori*, a kind of second council.

should be, then there is nothing to be done. But if we desire to restore the military prestige of the Tokugawa family, the kuambaku must be reinstated, the imperial palace must be adorned and repaired, and the Emperor's sister brought down here to marry the shôgun.' (Ostensibly they proposed this marriage to the imperial Court with the object of bringing about a union between the Mikado and the shôgun.) The nobles of the Court assembled in council, the arguments started were various, and it seemed as if no decision could be arrived at; but at last, influenced by the kuambaku and warned by the events of the previous year,* they advised the Emperor to grant the wishes of Kuantô.† So it was determined by the Court that the marriage should take place, and, on the 5th of July, the princess received the title of Kazu miya and the rank of a princess of the blood, by Imperial decree. Hereupon the kuambaku received notice from Kuantô, that in consideration of the exertion made by him for years past in the interest of the state, his private income was increased by one thousand *koku*."

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Proposal for
Emperor's
sister to
marry the
shôgun
accepted.

That the Yedo government should carry their point and obtain an Imperial princess in marriage for the shôgun, and that they should be able to increase the income of the regent of the Empire, was a clear sign of the enormous influence it still possessed.

The next event to be recorded is the attack, on the night of the very same 5th of July, upon the British legation then resident in the temple of Tozenji in the southern suburb of Takanawa. The pledge of the shôgun to provide effectually for the security of the

July 5.
Attack on
British
legation at
Tozenji.

* When so many high personages were imprisoned by Ii Kamon no Kami.

† *i.e.* of the shôgun's government.

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legation was thus not destined to be kept for more than about four months. Mr. Alcock and Mr. de Wit, the Dutch political agent, had only just accomplished their long journey by land from Nagasaki, and the former had hardly had time to settle himself at Yedo when the attack took place.

The details of this night attack will be found in chapter viii. of vol. ii. of "The Capital of the Tycoon," from which the following account is taken:—

The assailants came before midnight to the front gate of Tozenji, lying but a few steps back from the great high road, and finding it closed, they escalated the fence at the side. The gatekeeper, awakened by the noise, seems to have come out, and was instantly cut down, and killed on the spot. They then proceeded up the long avenue to the first courtyard, a distance of three hundred yards, passing all the guard-houses, and on their way killing a dog, which no doubt was barking his alarm. A little further on they killed a groom of one of the guards. A native cook in Mr. Alcock's service was next met, and severely wounded. Finally, a watchman, who happened to be close to the gate of the courtyard adjoining the legation, was seized as a guide, and, under threat of instant death, was ordered to show "where the accursed foreigners slept." All this time the native guards seem to have been asleep. The party then crossed the upper court beyond the great porch or open gateway leading to the front entrance of the temple, and also to the building used as the legation, on the right; and there they encountered one of the regular watchmen. Terror-struck at finding himself in the hands of these ruffians, he appears to have given only a feigned consent to guide them, and

tried to make his escape. He was, however, pursued, and after being frightfully slashed across the body, found temporary refuge in a lotus pond. This man ultimately recovered. The assailants then appear to have told off three parties: one proceeded round to the back of the stables, through a passage leading directly into the house; another forced the gate of the court in which the main entrance was situated, and broke in the panels of the front door; a third entered the temple adjoining the entrance hall of the legation and the back of the premises. From there, after wounding a priest in their path, some thrust aside the screens which alone formed the partition, and entered by that way; while others broke into another courtyard. A Chinese servant of Mr. Morrison, her Majesty's Consul at Nagasaki, happened to be sleeping in the hall; and, whilst he was listening in breathless alarm to the furious blows at the front door, a man in chain armour and masked suddenly made his appearance from the temple, forcing his way through a sliding panel. On this, with the instinct of his race, the servant glided stealthily away, and, apparently unseen, gained his master's room. Fortunately it was one of the nearest in that part of the house, and Mr. Morrison was roused at once, and armed with the sword and revolver lying at his side. Mr. Oliphant, the secretary of legation, sleeping further off, had by this time been awakened by the increasing tumult, and the barking of a dog. Believing the cause to be some fight among the servants, he seized a hunting-whip, and ran down the passage, upon which both Mr. Morrison's room and Mr. Reginald Russell's opened. To rouse the latter, and ask if he had any arms, was the work of a moment. But finding none, Mr. Oliphant turned

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back, and encountered either two or three men advancing. By the imperfect light he could see one in the act of aiming a blow with a two-handed sword at his head, and an unequal struggle commenced. Mr. Oliphant parried the blows as best he could, seeking to disable his assailant with the heavy end of the hunting-whip, while retreating or borne back towards the room where he had just left Mr. Russell. Fortunately, this gave Mr. Morrison time to throw back his screen opening on the scene, and to fire a couple of shots in the direction of the assassins. At the same moment Mr. Oliphant received two serious wounds, and Mr. Morrison himself a cut on the forehead. The pistol shots, whether they took effect or not, had the good result of checking the advance of the assailants.

Meanwhile Mr. Alcock had been roused by one of the young student interpreters with the news that the legation was attacked, and that men were breaking in at the gate. As he proceeded, somewhat incredulous, towards the entrance of the building, he met Mr. Oliphant covered with blood, which was streaming from a great gash in his arm and from a wound in his neck, and, an instant later, Mr. Morrison, with blood flowing from the sword-cut on his forehead. Their would-be murderers had disappeared.

Mr. Alcock at once set to work to bind up the wound in Mr. Oliphant's arm with his handkerchief, and while he was so engaged, there was a sudden crash, and the noise of a succession of blows in the adjoining apartment. But no one appeared, and soon the noise subsided. He then ventured with two of the party to leave the wounded, in order to search for Mr. Macdonald, another of their number, whose room

was in a further wing of the building. He placed one of the students, Mr. F. Lowder, as a sentry at an angle commanding a long passage leading from the entrance, and the approach from two other directions, and he had scarcely advanced ten steps, when he was recalled by a shot from Mr. Lowder's pistol. A group of armed Japanese had appeared at the farther end, and, as they did not answer his challenge, Mr. Lowder had fired into them, upon which they suddenly retreated.

This was an end of the affair, and the missing Mr. Macdonald soon after appeared, safe and sound. He had rushed out of his room in his white sleeping costume, and making his way through a side gate to the front, found a wild scene of tumult and conflict, for the guards were at last up and doing. In the courtyard of the temple itself, and in front of that leading into the part assigned to the legation, there were groups fighting, men with lanterns running to and fro, and gathering from all sides. Some of the guards attached to the legation covered him with one of their own Japanese dresses, and drew him aside, and he was saved from danger.

When the *mêlée* was at an end, some minutes later, and Mr. Alcock and others went over the premises, they found that an entrance had been effected from the temple at another point, through some thin planking into a little court, on which Mr. Lowder's room opened. The mark of a bloody hand was found on the sloping roof of the bath-room, over which some wounded man had made his escape; and by the broken planking Mr. Alcock picked up a sword and a leather purse, with a few cash and a seal in it, which had been dropped.

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Nariaki seems to have instigated the attack. Many of the assailants were Mito men.

It seems tolerably certain that the instigators of the night attack was again Nariaki, the ex-Prince of Mito, as many of the assailants, including seven who were killed, originally belonged to the Mito clan. The notion, once entertained by Mr. Alcock, that it was a plot of the Prince of Tsushima, whose retainers were supposed to have been following him and his companions, with murderous intent, most of, if not all, the way from Nagasaki, in order to seek retaliation upon some foreigner of rank, of what nation soever, for their prince's grievances against the Russians, was ascertained to have no foundation.

The official translation of the paper found on the person of one of the attacking party, who was wounded and taken prisoner, and which was identical with that found on another of the band who was killed, was as follows :—*

[*Translation.*]

Translation of the document found on one of the assailants.

"I, although a person of low degree, have taken the earnest resolution to perform a great deed to the honour of the Sovereign, and to expel the foreigner, as it is intolerable to stand by and see the sacred Empire violated by the barbarian. But properly the performance of such a deed as shall cause the might of the Empire to sparkle in foreign regions is difficult for the power of a person of low standing. Yet I am simple of opinion, with a desire to combine a very little sincerity and a very limited force, whereby partly to shower a thousand benefits upon the Empire. Should this also tend by-and-by to expel the foreigners, and could I tranquillize the imperial mind, it would indeed

* Correspondence respecting affairs in Japan, July to November, 1861. Presented to Parliament 1862. See p. 24.

redound to my greatest honour, though I am but a person of the lowest degree. I have thus taken a resolution regardless of my own life."

Here follow the date and seemingly the signatures of fourteen men, who were, according to the government, the whole of the band.

Mr. Alcock had three other translations made of this document, and although they all differ from each other and from the official version, still in each the leading idea is manifest, *i.e.* the desire to get rid of the hated "barbarians." One of the translations states that the individual had determined to follow out his *master's* will; and though this would be equally the fact, the official version is probably right, according to which the great deed was to be done in honour of the *sovereign*, the presence of foreigners being considered an insult to the whole country.

The Japanese ministers, naturally enough, wished it to appear that the attack originated entirely with the actual assailants, and they assured Mr. Alcock of their belief "that these men had no other motives than those set forth in the document found on them, and that they were all men of low degree, without instigators or abettors of higher rank." Whether this was the case or not is a matter, after all, of no importance. The *rônins* from Mito or any other principality, who were engaged in the affair, acted no doubt with the full concurrence of the head of their clan, and in full accordance with the anti-foreign and anti-shôgun policy of all its high officials.

It is curious, but, with the knowledge we now possess, hardly astonishing to read that, at an interview with the ministers of foreign affairs on the 25th of July, Mr. Alcock was informed that they had no

The Japanese ministers cannot guarantee the Representatives against future attacks.

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power of preventing such attacks upon the legation, nor of providing against a renewal of the same with a greater certainty of success. They could not, they said, guarantee any of the Representatives against these attempts at assassination, to which all foreigners in Japan were liable, whether in their houses or in the public thoroughfares. In the present state of the country such things were inevitable, and must be so regarded.

They could
only treat
the
foreigners
more like
prisoners.

“They were ready,” Mr. Alcock reports,* “to do what they could for our protection; but on inquiry it merely amounted to the adoption of measures for making the condition of all foreigners, ministers and merchants, more and more that of prisoners in close custody, with a still enduring sense of insecurity in the midst of their jailors. As to their responsibility, it was simply repudiated; not earnestly or vehemently, as a thing to be questioned or defended, but with the unconcern of men perfectly assured of their position. They seemed to adopt the argument that no government could control public opinion; they could make treaties, but could not enforce them on an unwilling nation. To demand full effect to be given to all the stipulations of the treaty, therefore, under existing circumstances, was simply to demand an impossibility, for the non-performance of which no one could be held responsible. So in like manner was security for life unattainable; it could not be guaranteed, nor could any government be held responsible for the isolated acts of individuals, or outrages perpetrated by bands of their lawless subjects.”

This was indeed a confession of weakness, and it must have surprised the British Representative, who at

* See p. 13 of the correspondence already referred to.

that time could know but little of the actual position and scope of the Yedo government, and who could not possibly be aware of the intrigues that were being carried on at Kiôto, and by the influential men in various powerful clans, to overthrow that government. Now-a-days we are enabled to judge these matters more accurately, and we can understand the dilemma of the shôgun's ministers. Pressed on one side by the daimios, and on the other by the foreign Representatives, they sat upon thorns, and were for ever engaged in devising expedients directed, on the one side, to check the conspiracies from within, and, on the other, to nullify the treaties which had been forced on them from without. Their great object was to succeed in wearying the Representatives into renouncing the idea, for themselves and their countrymen, of a permanent settlement in Japan.

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Dilemma
of shôgun's
govern-
ment.

Simultaneously with the attack on the British legation, the Japanese ministers urged upon the foreign Representatives, with much pertinacity, their desire to defer the execution of the stipulations in the treaties respecting the opening of Hiôgo, of a port on the western coast, and of the cities of Yedo and Ôzaka. They supported their propositions by averring the existence of widespread discontent among the people, owing to the increased price of provisions, which was laid at the door of the foreigners, and was attributed to their sudden demands for these native products. The ministers also alluded to the derangement in the currency, to the hoarding of rice in the territories of different daimios, who, in the unsettled state of affairs, saw danger of both foreign and intestine war, and who wished, in the interest of their own people, to be prepared against scarcity or famine.

Desire to
defer open-
ing of cities
and ports.

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Mr. Oliphant sent to England with a letter to the Queen.

These views were pressed upon Mr. Alcock, who, in order the better to place her Majesty's government in full possession of all that had happened, and of the actual posture of affairs, sent Mr. Oliphant to England with despatches. The latter took with him a letter from the shōgun to the Queen, expressing his Highness's desire that the opening to trade of the ports and cities above mentioned should be deferred.

Mr. Oliphant arrived in London on the 28th of October.

Earl Russell suggests an equivalent for the desired concessions.

The proposition of the Japanese government having been debated in the cabinet, Earl Russell wrote a despatch to Mr. Alcock on the 23rd of November, in which his lordship stated that it was difficult to appreciate at their true value the dangers hinted at by the shōgun and his ministers, but that it appeared to her Majesty's government that if, in order to comply with the wishes of that ruler, and to appease public discontent in Japan, the desired concessions were made, full equivalent should be obtained on our side, such as the opening of the port of Tsushima in the island of that name, as well as of any ports in Corea which were under Japanese authority ; a concession of land at Yedo for the residence of her Majesty's minister, such residence being secured by walls and palisades, and protected by a British guard ; pecuniary indemnities to Mr. Oliphant and Mr. Morrison ; and the apprehension, trial, and punishment of the miscreants who escaped after the attack of the 5th of July. The conduct of the negotiations and the exact extent of the equivalent were left to the discretion of the British Envoy, who was instructed to communicate with the Envoys and Consuls of other treaty powers before entering on any discussion with the Japanese ministers.

As far as relates to the punishment of the band who attacked the legation, Mr. Alcock was informed by the ministers for foreign affairs that three of their number were put to death on the 24th of January, 1862. Mr. Alcock says :—*

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January 24,
1862. Three
of the
assassins
stated to
have been
executed in
secret.

“One was the wounded man made prisoner on the spot; the other, also wounded, who was reported to have been seized the next morning in the suburb; the third, a man arrested by the Prince of Mito in his territory.

“It appeared they were executed in secret, in their prison; such also was the law: but as I rode to Yokohama the next day, three gory heads, recently severed from their trunks, looked grimly down upon me, elevated only a little above the level of my own, on poles in the execution-ground of the capital, which is close to the edge of the tôkaidô, skirting the bay. I was struck with the resemblance in one of these heads to that of the wounded prisoner whose countenance I had closely scanned as he lay wounded on his back after the onslaught. This might have been on my part a fancy; but Mr. von Siebold, who had no knowledge of their intended execution, I found afterwards was suddenly struck with the same idea, the countenance of the prisoner having apparently been strongly impressed on his memory, when he called the next morning at Tozenji, by the expression of hate and baffled vengeance with which he met and riveted the gaze of the youth. If we are to believe the placards placed underneath, however, which I found means to have deciphered, the criminals whose heads were thus exposed were simply highway robbers, executed for entering a temple

Three heads
exposed on
the execu-
tion ground.

* Correspondence respecting affairs in Japan, p. 4, presented to Parliament, 1863.

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VI.

and stealing. If they were the heads of three of our assailants, it is quite clear the government did not dare, in exposing them, to make it known. And I had heard it reported that, a short time before, the ministers were menaced with the revenge of the men's comrades if execution took place.

"The whole of the circumstances afford a curious illustration of the state of the country, and the position, not only of the foreign Representatives, but of the members of the government."

It is thus recorded that one of the assailants was arrested by the Prince of Mito in his territory, and the arrest of three more of the band, also in Mito, was subsequently reported by the Japanese ministers to Mr. Alcock.

Now, whether these men were really captured in the territory of the foreigner-hating prince, who was the representative of one of the Sanké,* and a very powerful noble, and whether the alleged capture was made by the prince's orders or by officers of the shôgun (which is not likely), has never been ascertained. The story certainly appears improbable; positive proof, indeed, was not to be obtained, for in those days every event was shrouded in mystery, and all that could be was carefully concealed or cunningly distorted by the Japanese ministers. However, be that as it may, it is open to very grave doubt whether the three heads which were exposed at the execution-ground were in reality those of men concerned in the attack. Of the different modes of capital punishment in force during the sway of the shôgun in Yedo, that of decapitation followed by public exposure was the most infamous, and it was therefore in the highest degree unlikely to be

It is at least doubtful whether they formed part of the assassins.

* For the explanation of this term, *vide supra*, p. 67.

resorted to where the crime to be expiated was an attempt on the lives of foreigners. The Japanese ministers were always pleading the force of public opinion as the excuse for their inability to protect foreigners (and this plea was much more valid than the foreigners could then well imagine), and if they did punish with death some of the criminals in this instance, where no particular form of execution was demanded by the British Envoy, they would naturally choose the one which was most secret and least likely to give offence to their own countrymen. It may, I think, be affirmed almost with certainty that any of the assassins, being two-sworded men, who were sentenced to death, were permitted to put an end to their own lives by the honourable process of *hara kiri*.

The *Kinsé Shiriaku*,* it should be remarked, mentions that the bakufu ordered the house of Mito to arrest the assassins, but that they made their escape into Ôshiu and Déwa.

On the 27th of September Nariaki, ex-Prince of Mito, and prime leader of the anti-foreign party, died. His family connections with the shôgun and the proximity of his territory to Yedo had made his opposition all the more dangerous, and his death was a welcome event to the adherents of a Liberal policy.

September
27, 1861.
Death of
Nariaki,
ex-Prince
of Mito.

* "Short History of Recent Events." 1853—1869. Translated by E. Satow.

CHAPTER VII.

1862.

Attempt to Murder Andô Tsushima no Kami.—He retires from the rôjiu.—Marriage of the shôgun to Princess Kazu.—Mr. Alcock leaves for England.—Mr. Consul Winchester and then Lieutenant-Colonel Neale act as Chargé d’Affaires.

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1862.
Feb. 14.
Attempt
to murder
Andô
Tsushima
no Kami.

THE first event in 1862 which it is necessary to notice is the attempt, on the 14th of February, by a band of eighteen men, to murder Andô Tsushima no Kami, already mentioned as a minister favourable to the maintenance of foreign relations. He was on his way to the Castle, close to the Sakashita gate, when some *samurai* suddenly discharged their small-arms at the cortége, and then threw themselves on the minister’s litter with such force and suddenness as to spread a momentary panic among the retainers. They, however, quickly rallied in their master’s defence, though not in time to save him from two or three severe wounds. Several were killed or wounded; but the whole of the assailants, seven in number, were, it is said, despatched upon the spot. According to one account,* the dead men were found to be retainers of Hori Oribé no Kami, who, as will be recollected,

* *Gengi yumé monogatari.*

had disembowelled himself after a violent discussion with Andô on some question relating to foreign matters, and, according to the paper found upon each of the attacking party after death, they had determined to take Andô's life, in order to avenge their late chief, and not to allow such a disturber of the State to escape just punishment.

The *Kinsé Shiriaku*, however, gives the substance of the document as follows :—"The minister, Andô, inheriting the ideas of the chief minister, Ii Kamon no Kami, has made friends of the barbarians. In concert with the resident, Sakai Wakasa no Kami, he has placed in confinement honourable and loyal Court nobles. He has abused the influence of the bakufu in order to bring the Mikado's sister to Yedo, and, worst of all, has commanded learned Japanese scholars to collect precedents for the deposition of the Emperor, his intention being to depose the son of heaven. His crimes are too heinous to be spoken of with calmness, and we have therefore sacrificed our lives in order to kill this wicked traitor."

Andô's wounds were sufficiently serious to confine him to the house till the beginning of May. During that interval the most contradictory rumours respecting his fate were brought to the ears of the Representatives ; it was supposed that he would never recover, and, as weeks elapsed without his appearance, he was generally considered to be dead. Still the rôjiu always persisted in affirming that, although his wounds were severe, they were not likely to prove fatal.

And this was the fact. He even appeared once more for a short interval, being present at the parting interview of Mr. Harris, the American Representative, with the rôjiu in the beginning of the month of May,

Andô re-
appears.

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VII.

and again on the succeeding day at an interview between M. de Bellecourt and that high Council ; and though his countenance was said to be that of a man who had lately recovered from a serious illness, he acted during the conferences with his usual energy and good sense. No hint was given on either occasion of an intention on his part to retire from his post.

Retires
from the
rôjiu.

On the 10th of May, however, the Representatives received an official notification from the rôjiu, stating that Andô, having been promoted to the post of *tamari dzumé kaku*,* retired from that of Minister for foreign affairs.

This dismissal seems to have been effected, similarly with others, through the representations of an Envoy of the Emperor, who had been sent to Yedo to deliver his Majesty's orders to the shôgun as to the course to be taken with a view to the expulsion of foreigners.

March 11.
Marriage of
shôgun and
Princess
Kazu.

On the 11th of March the imperial Princess Kazu, who had reached Yedo towards the end of 1861, was married to the shôgun in the eastern castle.

March 22.
Departure
of Mr.
Alcock on
leave.

Mr. Alcock having made his preparations for departure, held two final interviews with the President of the Council and some high officials. In these, amongst other things, the amount of pecuniary indemnity to Messrs. Oliphant and Morrison was settled at the sum originally demanded, and the question of deferring the opening of new ports and cities, though discussed, was left unsettled, owing to the Japanese ministers having no equivalent to offer. The British Envoy left Yokohama on the 22nd of March, and returned to England. Mr. Winchester, consul at Kanagawa, remained in charge for two

* Member of an extraordinary council, sometimes called in to advise on high matters of State.

months, until the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Neale, who had succeeded Mr. Oliphant as secretary of legation. Colonel Neale acted as Chargé d'affaires during the remainder of the absence of her Majesty's Envoy.

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CHAPTER VIII.

1862.

The Satsuma Clan.—Shimadzu Idzumi, afterwards Saburô, is met on his road to Kiôto by *rônins* eager for the Expulsion of Foreigners.—They accompany him to Fushimi.—He is requested by the Court to tarry in Kiôto.—Arrival of Chôshiu, and combination of the two Clans.

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VIII.
The Sat-
suma clan
in Kiushiu.

AMONGST the clans which have played a more important part in Japanese history and have been particularly famed for their military prowess there is probably none more distinguished than that of Satsuma. The principality was situated at the southern end of the island of Kiushiu, and consisted of most of the provinces of Satsuma, Ôsumi, and Hiuga, the capital being that town of Kagoshima, beautifully situated on a deep bay, which was destined before long to be the scene of an encounter between English and Japanese. I was there in January, 1871, and it was easy to see that the whole principality was one vast military organization, and that its resources were drained to meet the expenses of keeping it up. I was struck with the great number of two-sworded men in this place, which is said to contain one hundred thousand inhabitants, and I was told that it then contained

six regiments, and that the whole force of the clan consisted of fifty regiments, the full compliment of each being five hundred men. During 1870 a large space opposite the residence of the prince had been cleared of buildings, and planted with a species of close-woven grass; there drilling went on daily with much perseverance. The forts, stretching across the bay, bristled with rifled cannon, and there was a factory in operation for casting guns.

All this military organization, then, keeps the country people poor. In passing through a portion of the province during several days, I could not help being struck with the appearance of poverty all around; the houses were in general dilapidated, in many cases not even being provided with the usual paper screens, which were replaced by simple boards, the hostelrys were small and afforded but poor accommodation, and the food was inferior. For, to add to the troubles of the peasants, their rice is not of an excellent quality, and the amount is small in proportion to the population, so that, as I was told, none is allowed to be exported, and the islands, where in general no rice is grown, have mostly to be supplied from the mainland. If there is a deficiency in the crop, rice may be and is imported, especially from the neighbouring territories of Higo and Chikuzen.

Poverty of
the country
people.

Inferior
rice.

The destinies of this great clan were, at the period of history we have now reached, in the hands of Shimadzu Idzumi, or, to call him by the name which is familiar to foreigners, and which he was soon after permitted to assume, Shimadzu Saburô. He was not the daimio himself, that position being occupied by one of his sons, who had been adopted by his brother, the preceding daimio. Shimadzu Saburô was therefore

Shimadzu
Idzumi, or
Saburô, the
real leader
of the clan.

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VIII.

Leaves
Satsuma in
the spring.

Is met by
rônins
desirous for
the expul-
sion of the
"barbari-
ans."

the real father and, through adoption, legally the uncle of the reigning prince. This magnate had set out from the Satsuma territory in the spring, and was on his way to Yedo, to carry out certain projects which will be alluded to presently, when he was met, at Himéji, in the province of Harima, by several hundred *rônins*, who were awaiting his approach, in order to lay before him their complaints against the bakufu officials, and their intention of requesting the Emperor "to set forth in person to subjugate and expel the barbarians." With this intent they had drawn up a memorial, containing the usual arguments for such expulsion; but fearing that they could not carry out their designs without the aid of some great nobleman, they had decided, after much communication with different parts of the country, to await the coming of Shimadzu Saburô, of whose policy they were well assured, and to impart to him their desire to perform some great deed, and to restore the old order of things. They were eager for violent measures, and they suggested a plan for taking the castle of Ôzaka by assault, burning the castle of Hikoné, and slaying the garrison of the castle of Nijô (the shôgun's residence in Kiôto). After which, certain princes and other nobles could be set free from confinement, and then the phoenix-car* could be carried over the pass of Hakoné, and the bakufu officials punished for their crimes.

They
accompany
him to
Fushimi.

Such a desperate body of men were not to be lightly treated, and Shimadzu, probably somewhat perplexed, permitted them to join his train, and they

* The palanquin which accompanied the Mikado. When his present Majesty first journeyed to Yedo, he did not travel in the palanquin, but it figured in the procession. Here it is used to signify the Emperor himself.

accompanied him as far as Fushimi.* When this was known in Kiôto, there was great alarm ; but the Satsuma noble entered the Capital quietly on the 14th of May, and sent a letter to the kuambaku to inform the Court of his intentions. He stated that he was proceeding to Yedo with the object of assisting the bakufu in reforming their bad system of government ; that since 1858 they had neglected the orders of the Emperor, and had traded with the outer barbarians ; that they had imprisoned upright and patriotic princes, kugés, and other high personages, and that consequently the popular mind had become excited. Then, adverting to the *rônins*, he showed how dangerous that element had become ; they had, as he expressed it, maintained the duty of respecting the sovereign and of driving out the barbarians ; they had assassinated the regent Ii Kamon no Kami, and had murdered foreigners, and now, owing to the policy of the bakufu officials, they were determined upon some great deed, which would be the cause of much complication. For this reason, he continued, he had set out for Yedo, but meeting a force of such *rônins* on the way, he had thought it better to bring them on with him as far as Fushimi, and he now begged to present their memorial to the Emperor.

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VIII.

May 14.
He enters
Kiôto.

The Court approved of the action of the Satsuma chief, and ordered him to remain for a short time in Kiôto, in order to quiet the excitement caused by the *rônins*.

The Court
requests
him to tarry
in Kiôto.

These men had thus obtained considerable influence in the land, and it will be seen that they played a prominent part in the events which marked the first years of intercourse with foreigners. They seem to

The *rônins*.

* A few miles from Kiôto.

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VIII.

have come particularly into notice after the conclusion of the American treaty, in 1857; at that time a number of retainers of Mito, already shown to have been concerned in several assassinations, are said to have absconded from that territory, because they considered that they could not succeed in expelling the foreigners whilst in the service of their prince, and they hoped to accomplish their aspirations by other means. "From this time," says the Japanese chronicler, "numbers of low-class two-sworded men wandered about the country, and gave promise of noble deeds."

Amnesty of
persons
punished by
Ii Kamon
no Kami.

In the month of May, soon after the arrival of Shimadzu Saburô, a general amnesty was published, and a number of high personages, who had been punished by Ii Kamon no Kami, were released from confinement, the influence of the bakufu being on the wane. Amongst the names particularly known to us are Hitotsûbashi, the old princes of Tosa, Echizen, and Owari, and some of the highest officials at Kiôto. And at the same time the Prince of Chôshiu arrived at the metropolis, and he (*i.e.* the clan) was entrusted with the duty of assisting the Satsuma men in keeping the *rônins* quiet. His principality comprised the two provinces of Nagato and Suwô.

Arrival of
the Prince
of Chôshiu,
and combi-
nation with
Satsuma.

Thus it would appear that the two powerful clans of Satsuma and Chôshiu had agreed to combine against the Yedo government, and the opposition, always in the name of the Emperor, began to assume more threatening proportions. The influence of this party is further seen in a number of punishments meted out in the summer to kugés accused of favouring the bakufu.

CHAPTER IX.

1862.

Second Attack on the British Legation.—Murder of two Marines.—Congratulation of Commissioner on Anniversary of former Attack.—Itô Gumpei, stated to be the Assassin, commits Suicide.—Explanations of the Officials.—Examination of Evidence.—No Motives given for the Murder.—Instructions from Earl Russell for Inquiry, &c., and Demand for Indemnity of £10,000.—Answer of Japanese Government.—Indemnity ultimately Paid.—Motive for Murder may have been Private Vengeance.

BUT to return to Yedo. Lieutenant-Colonel Neale had not been long at his post before there was another attack on the British legation at Yedo. The British Chargé d'affaires had arrived from Yokohama on the 12th of June, with the other members of the legation, and, accompanied by a guard of thirty men of her Majesty's ship "Renard," he had taken up his residence within the grounds of the temple of Tozenji, having first duly informed the Japanese ministers of his intention to establish himself permanently in the shôgun's capital. He found that the usual precautions had been taken by the authorities, numerous guards having been stationed in detached wooden huts, entirely surrounding the residence; the number of guards,

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June 26.
Attack
upon
Colonel
Neale's
legation.

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indeed, according to a Japanese return, amounted to no less than five hundred and thirty-five men, composed partly of the shôgun's body-guard, but chiefly of the retainers of the daimio Matsudaira Tamba no Kami, of Matsumoto in Shinshiu, who had been charged by the government to furnish a contingent, during a certain period, for this particular service. Every night parties of these men marched at intervals to the very doors of the legation buildings, and remained for a short time with the English sentries, leaving behind them one man at each post to aid in challenging any persons who might approach, and on this account they were furnished with the parole, which was in the Japanese language, and was issued at sunset every evening.

Congratu-
lations on
same day
from a Com-
missioner
of foreign
affairs,
being the
anniversary
of the
former
attack.

Here a curious fact finds its proper place. On the morning of the 26th of June, Colonel Neale had received a visit from one of the Commissioners of foreign affairs, who informed him that he had come by desire of the ministers to congratulate him (the *Chargé d'affaires*) upon the passing of the previous day without any disturbance or untoward event, seeing that, according to the Japanese calendar, a year had elapsed since the previous attack on the legation, that he was glad to find all was right, and that he should report the same to the ministers. Colonel Neale replied that he had no reason to suspect any evil designs against the legation, and he added that the only enemies appeared to be the earthquakes, which had been rather frequent at Yedo during the previous days. The Commissioner smiled at this remark, and took his leave.

Now, on the night of this very 26th of June the attack was made.

At half-past twelve the British sentry posted at the verandah adjoining Colonel Neale's bedroom challenged sharply some approaching object. Colonel Neale had retired to rest, but was not asleep, and the usual papered panels alone separated him from the sentry. He thus heard the challenge, and what followed passed in his hearing. The answer was the right parole. Notwithstanding this, the sentry was evidently dissatisfied, and cried out in an anxious tone, "What's that you say? Who are you?" After which he walked briskly three or four paces towards the object. Colonel Neale rose in bed to hear the result, and in an instant the deadened sound of a rapid succession of heavy blows and cuts reached his ears, every cut or blow being followed by a cry of pain and anguish. Silence succeeded for a moment, and was followed by the beating of drums on the heights, and the gathering of Japanese guards about the house.

Colonel Neale rose from his bed, and, finding his way across two rooms, passed into the guard's quarters, which the sentry, mortally wounded, had just reached. He was lying on the floor, his life ebbing away from nine desperate wounds received from lance and sword. The whole British guard was roused, and, together with Lieutenant Edwards, R.N., followed Colonel Neale to the dining-room, as the established rendez-vous. There they were joined by the men of the British escort, under Lieutenant Applin. The other members of the legation assembled in the same room. It was then discovered that Corporal Crimp, R.M., was absent, and a search having been made, his corpse was found lying in a pool of blood on the verandah, across the threshold of one of the outer doors leading

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IX.

Particulars
of the
attack.
Murder of
the sentry
Sweet and
of Corporal
Crimp.

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IX.

to the colonel's bedroom. It was gashed with no less than sixteen frightful wounds.

The assassin, it appeared, had run his first victim through the neck with a lance, and then, falling upon him with a sword, had delivered a number of cuts, in true Japanese fashion, with such rapidity as at once to overpower the sentry. Then, leaving his victim for dead, he had gone to the corner of the building, some twenty paces, when he met Corporal Crimp, who was making his rounds alone, and was about to visit the unfortunate sentry. A conflict seems to have instantly ensued upon the verandah, and though the corporal appears to have discharged one shot from his revolver, which took effect in the neck of his assailant, he was disabled by a wound in the ham, and succumbed under the repeated cuts delivered by the Japanese. The latter then crept under the verandah, his course being traced by marks of blood, and he made his way to the guard-house.

Charles Sweet, the sentry, died in the morning, and all that Doctors Jenkins and Willis could learn from him was that the assassin had approached, creeping on his hands and feet, and that the Japanese guard who was with him (Sweet) had fled the moment the attack commenced.

Measures of
protection.

Proper means were quickly taken to increase the British guard at the legation, and to protect its inmates from any further outrage, but it is rather to the action of the Japanese authorities that I would here direct attention.

Colonel
Neale
desires to
view the
body of the
assassin,
said to have
committed

To begin with one incident, Colonel Neale having been informed by the Commissioners for foreign affairs that the assassin (for they restricted themselves to speaking of one) had escaped wounded to his chief's

house, and had then committed suicide, demanded to view the body. To this they replied that it would be difficult, but they desired to know whether the body could not be conveyed to the legation.

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suicide, but
objects to
the mode
proposed.

Colonel Neale assented, his object being to cause the medical officers attached to the legation to examine the bullet wound which the man was stated to have received, and thus to satisfy himself that the body was that of the corporal's assassin. The Commissioners informed Colonel Neale, the following morning, that his request would be complied with, and that the corpse would be brought towards the evening. But, upon asking by whom it would be conveyed, and where it would be placed, he was told that it would be brought to the legation by retainers of the daimio, *i.e.* by comrades of the assassin, and that it would be placed in the temple occupied by the priests, and forming part of the buildings in the grounds. And to a further question as to the number of persons who would accompany it, the answer was that there might be a good many. Colonel Neale therefore declared that the body should not enter the gates under such circumstances, and he broke up the conference in order that these intended arrangements might be forthwith considered at an end. He was informed at a later hour in the evening that the body had notwithstanding been brought to the outer gate, but had been subsequently taken away again.

For the thorough investigation of this mysterious affair, it was certainly essential that the murderer's corpse should be viewed by the foreigners, and the loss of important evidence cannot but be regretted.

In the very first communication which they made, in answer to a letter from the British Chargé d'affaires,

Explanations of Japanese officials.

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IX.

the Japanese ministers for foreign affairs declared that, owing to the disorderly state of the national feeling in Japan, it had happened once before that the Envoy was taken by surprise ; that this had now occurred again ; and they calmly confessed that on the present occasion it was brought about by one of the retainers of the prince to whom the protection of the legation was entrusted, a state of things which was very improper, and filled them with shame. They went on to say that, although the culprit had already committed suicide, he was undoubtedly guilty, as he had left behind him an unmistakable proof in the weapon with which he had committed the deed (doubtless the lance which was found near the body of one of the murdered men). More regrets followed, together with a promise to have the cowardly treason of the Japanese guards punished, after due investigation ; also a promise that a person of high rank should, according to Colonel Neale's desire, be appointed, as a responsible person, for the protection of the legation.

Confer-
ences.
Result
unsatis-
factory.

Long conferences ensued, and the immediate result, as recorded by Colonel Neale in a letter of the 30th of June to the ministers, was by no means satisfactory. It is true that further barricades were erected, that the Japanese guards were removed outside these defences to the heights, and that the responsible officer of rank was appointed.

But no assurances against future attacks had been given ; no communication, either officially or in writing, had been made, as to whether the daimio whose adherent or adherents had committed the outrage had been, together with his men, relieved from the duty confided to him. " If he has been removed," says Colonel Neale's letter, " I am ignorant of

what other daimio has been now charged with this office, or what number of yakunins are now guarding this legation. And, above all, I am ignorant whether the Tycoon's government place, or do not place, implicit confidence in the daimios and men now actually charged with the protection of her Britannic Majesty's legation.

"I have not," it continues, "been informed what has been the result, as far as they may have gone, of the examinations and inquiries instituted by the Tycoon's government into the circumstances attending the outrage which has been committed; of the result of the examination of the guards, of the yakunin who fled and abandoned the sentry; of the manner in which the murderer can have passed the Japanese guards, and the manner in which he still more strangely escaped, which he did after the guards were roused, and among whom he must have found refuge.

"And, finally, I am ignorant of the opinion and belief of the Tycoon's government as to the object and aim of the assailants.

"Until such assurances and explanations as I have referred to are afforded to me by your Excellencies, I have distinctly to acquaint you that I must continue to remain in a state of doubt and uncertainty with respect to the future chances of security from further outrages on this legation."

On the 10th of July Colonel Neale had an interview with the rôjiu, during which he adverted to the visit of the Commissioner of foreign affairs on the morning of the 26th of June, and he asked why, seeing that the attack had actually taken place on the night of the same day, if the government had had any fears or

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anticipations of danger with regard to her Majesty's legation, he had not been warned previously, rather than congratulated afterwards; adding that, had he received the slightest warning from an official source, the murder of the two English guards would inevitably not have occurred, for the sentries would have been doubled, and men would certainly not have been thus barbarously assassinated, single-handed and unsuspecting.

"The gorôjiu, to my surprise," writes Colonel Neale, "replied that I was certainly quite right in the observations I had made, and they regretted they had not thought of warning me in time."

The reply is curious, but, though proceeding from the mouth of the ministers, it does not prove them to have been aware that any attack was to be made on the legation.

Five weeks had elapsed when, on the 1st of August, Colonel Neale wrote to Earl Russell that he had not received the slightest official information tending to throw light on the matter, although it could hardly be doubted that the Japanese government were in possession of all the facts almost immediately after the commission of the crime. The only investigation made was by some officials of low grade, who had asked questions of Mr. Eusden, the Japanese secretary of the legation, as to what families or relatives had been connected with the murdered men.

Return of
Colonel
Neale for a
short time
to Yoko-
hama, with
occasional
visits to
Yedo.

It should be mentioned that, in the month of July, Colonel Neale returned for two or three days to Yokohama, in consequence, as he wrote, of a combination of circumstances, and particularly of the too harassing duties of the small number of English guards who had been landed for the

of the legation. He at the same time recorded his intention to follow for the moment the policy of most of his colleagues, and only to visit Yedo occasionally, as official business and expediency might render it necessary, remaining for some days at a time at the old residence there.

At an interview on the 19th of August with members of the Council and other officials, the governor of Yedo made the following statement to the British Representative:—

That the man who had attacked the two Englishmen and murdered them was not actually one of the guards, but was an adherent of the daimio whose retainers they were. That on the night in question he came to one of the guard-houses, and asked what the parole was, and as he was a man known to the guard, the word was given him. That he then went away, and must have gone down to the English sentry unobserved; that, after committing the murders, he had escaped, and had fled, wounded by a pistol-bullet, to one of the daimio's palaces, and had there committed suicide. That he had originally started from the daimio's palace with two others, but that they had not remained with him. That no other persons had been found to be implicated; and that the assassin was of deranged intellect. Neither of the two companions, it may be mentioned, appear on the scene subsequently, nor is there any evidence of the madness of the assassin himself.

August 19.
Statement
of governor
of Yedo.

Colonel Neale thereupon observed that all this information was substantially known to himself and the others the very morning after the event. The armor admitted this, but added that the punishment awarded for the crime was not known, viz. that

Punishment to the assassin Itô Gumpei, by burning his corpse.

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IX.

Offer to pay
three
thousand
dollars
indemnity.

Examina-
tions and
punish-
ments com-
municated
to Colonel
Neale.

Onotarô's
evidence,
and com-
ments upon
it.

the body of Itô Gumpei, the murderer, which was not then buried, would be burnt and his remains thrown into the street—a great punishment in Japan, and a great dishonour to his family. The rôjiu also stated that they proposed to pay three thousand dollars as compensation to the families of the murdered men.

The result of the examination of the persons connected with the deed and the punishments decreed were communicated to Colonel Neale a week later. It was declared that no accomplice of Itô Gumpei had been discovered, and that the corpse of the latter was to be “cast away;” Matsudaira Tamba no Kami was put under arrest for negligence in his trust as charged with the protection of the temporary residence of the British Representative at Tozenji, and various of his retainers as well as some officers of the shôgun's body-guard were punished, mostly by arrest for a certain period. One of the latter, called Onotarô, is stated in his sentence to have been at his post and fought for a while with the culprit, whose lance he struck out of his hands. “Although he (Onotarô),” the sentence continues, “was wounded himself, yet it (the wound) was not so serious that it incapacitated him from exerting himself; and although the lantern was gone out and it was dark in consequence, he ought to have had recourse to some means to ward off the pending danger; but, deserting his post, he went to the watch-house and gave the alarm, and then lighting the candle of the lantern, he returned to the former place, all of which facilitated the escape of the culprit.” Hence he was put under arrest during fifty days.

Now, I have obtained what I believe to be an authentic copy of the evidence of this same Onotarô,

and the following is a translation of it, kindly made for me by Mr. Aston.

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IX.

“I was on duty before the foreigner’s residence at one o’clock on the night of the 26th of June last (1862), when I saw a man coming with a lance in his hand. He was challenged by the foreign sentry, and gave the proper countersign. I too called on him to give the countersign, and received the same answer. He approached the foreigner, and I held forward my lantern so as to see him, when he suddenly made a thrust at the foreigner. I drew my sword and struck at him. The sword met the lance, which fell out of his hands. He then drew his sword, and cut at the foreigner. Another foreigner then fired a pistol. My lantern went out, and it was so dark I could not see my way, so I went to the guard-room and struck the alarm-drum. I then lit my lantern and returned to the place where I had been stationed, but the man was no longer to be seen. I looked round the space before the *yashiki*. A number of other guards came to my assistance, and we remained on guard together over the foreigner’s residence.

(Signed). “MIYAKÉ ONOTARÔ.

“Dated 27th of June, 1862.”

It will be observed that in this evidence there is no mention of a wound having been inflicted upon Onotarô. On the contrary, all that, on his own showing, he seems to have done was to draw his sword and strike the lance out of the assassin’s hands. Whether he even performed this isolated deed of valour is uncertain, but it is clear that he offered no continued resistance to the assassin, and that, basely leaving the Englishman to be murdered, he ran away to the guard-house.

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IX.

That this is the true version there seems to be no doubt. Mr. Pruyn, the United States' Representative, in a letter addressed to Colonel Neale on the 1st of July, states that he had carefully examined the premises; that one of the Japanese guard (no doubt the man Onotarô) had admitted that he had seen the assassin, had claimed as a ground of merit that he had fought with and been wounded by him, and had then run to the guard-house to give the alarm; that, unfortunately for this version, it happened that the guard-house was within sight and call of this guard, and of the transaction, that his wound was a slight scratch on the back of his leg, inflicted whilst he was running away; and that his flight had given an opportunity for the attack on the corporal, whose life would have been saved if the former had only done his duty, in which case the assailant, if only one, would have been killed or arrested.

No information given of the motives of the murderer.

So much for the evidence of the man Onotarô, and for his conduct. But there is not, in the whole of the papers communicated to Colonel Neale, one tittle of information respecting the motives of the murderer. According to the official documents, he returned to his abode, where he lived with three other fellow-retainers, to whom he declared that he had killed and wounded foreigners, and had come back because he himself was wounded; and these three men were punished because they did not watch him properly, and he was thus enabled to commit suicide. Still, not a word is said respecting the questions which his comrades must have asked him, nor respecting the answers which were doubtless given by him. It is simply inconceivable that, out of all the men alleged to have been examined in this matter, there were none who could not have

disclosed the motives of the assassins, if there were more than one. The government must have been in possession of such information ; they must have known Itô Gumpei's motives, and whether he had indeed any accomplices ; but, true to their policy, they withheld every jot and tittle of such evidence from the British Representative.

That there was gross neglect and even absolute connivance on the part of the guards in the grounds is conclusively proved by the following circumstances related to me by Doctor Willis, formerly medical officer of the legation, who was there at the time, and was one of the first on the spot after the murders. 1st. The sentry who preceded Sweet at his post, by name Johnson, a strong well-built man, stated that during his watch he was several times requested by Japanese to go with them to see something, and each time they motioned to him to put down his rifle. He refused to accompany them, but so impressed was he of something being in the wind that, when Sweet relieved him, he particularly cautioned that man to keep a sharp look-out. 2nd. When Doctor Willis rushed out on hearing the noise, he found that all the Japanese lanterns, which were invariably kept alight at night, had been put out. 3rd. The lance used by the assassin was taken by him out of the guard-house. 4th. He entered the guard-house after the attack, and was not detained there.

Upon receiving the news of the attack, Earl Russell addressed a despatch to Colonel Neale, dated September 22, in which his lordship instructs him to state to the Japanese ministers that some of the circumstances connected with the murders had produced a very painful impression. For example, the Japanese

Proofs of
gross
neglect of
the native
guards.

Instruc-
tions from
Earl
Russell.

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guards, on the occasion of the attack of 1861, had bravely defended the legation, whereas the followers of the daimio employed on this occasion behaved in the most cowardly and treacherous manner; the inference would appear to be that the former guards were removed for their fidelity, and that the others were expressly chosen for their want of courage and fidelity. Again, the visit of congratulation of the Japanese minister already recorded must have been to put the British Representative off his guard. Further, the number of wounds on the victims seemed to show that the assassins were several, and that the Japanese guards connived with them; if this was so, the inference was that the daimio entrusted with the protection of her Majesty's mission secretly favoured the attempt to murder its members. Lastly, on neither occasion of a murderous and midnight assault had the Japanese government given any assurance of efficient protection for the future, a circumstance which tended to show that they indulged a secret hope that the sense of insecurity might at length induce her Majesty's government to abandon Yedo, and gradually to allow the ancient custom of non-intercourse and prohibition of trade to be re-established.

Demand for
inquiry, &c.
and in-
demnity of
£10,000.

Colonel Neale was further instructed to urge upon the Japanese government the duty, for its own sake, of a strict inquiry into this deplorable occurrence. If, as there was every reason to believe, the daimio in charge of the legation had betrayed his trust, and had connived at the attack, he should be openly degraded, and most severely punished. Sufficient steps were to be taken by the British naval authorities for the protection of the legation, and a compensation of £10,000 sterling paid in gold was to be demanded for the fami-

lies of the two unfortunate marines, this sum to be levied on the estate of the aforesaid daimio.

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These instructions were duly communicated by Colonel Neale to the Japanese ministers on the 4th of December, and on the 20th an answer at great length was returned to him in writing.* They persisted in declaring that there was but one assailant, who had not the aid of any other person ; they argued that he fled so suddenly that the guards unintentionally lost sight of him ; that the guards had been changed, not because the former were faithful and the actual ones faithless, but because, when the government imposes a service on a daimio, the time of such service is specified, and at its expiration another daimio takes the place of the first one ; that if, when the Commissioner of foreign affairs paid his visit previous to the attack, he had had the least suspicion of what was going to happen, he would have informed the British Representative, and would have given strict orders to the officers placed at the legation for its protection to be on the look-out ; that a single Japanese who murders a man always inflicts a great many wounds upon him, being for the most part singularly dexterous with his sword ; that neither Matsudaira Tamba no Kami, nor even his other retainers or inferior officers, were privy to the deed ; that as to the suspicion that the government knew of the two attacks beforehand, and was in hopes that by such means foreign trade would be stopped by degrees, and the old custom restored of non-intercourse with foreigners, “ how could our government,” the document runs, “ ever expect such a thing, or even wish it, after treaties

Answer
of the
Japanese
government.

* Correspondence respecting affairs in Japan, presented to Parliament, 1864, pp. 14—16.

CHAP. IX. of perpetual peace and amity have been ratified by
 ~~~~~ both empires ? ”

The value of this latter argument will be properly estimated when we come to the attempt soon afterwards made to close the port of Kanagawa-Yokohama.

The ministers further represented that the placing Tamba no Kami and others under arrest was a severe punishment, for that, during the arrest, the individual is obliged to keep the gate of his residence closed, and, forbidding any one to enter or to leave, he must shut himself up in his room and abstain from all business. “Moreover, he is not allowed to shave or bathe, or have intercourse with any one, be they his parents, children, or brothers ; and all his servants, from the lowest upwards, are not allowed to leave his residence, on account of the arrest of their master.”

The ministers therefore considered the punishments sufficient, and they refused to increase the compensation which they had offered for the families of the murdered men.

The full indemnity ultimately paid.

Further negotiations in the matter ensued, and, as will hereafter be seen, after more than a year, the full indemnity demanded by the British government was paid in Mexican dollars, at the same time with the larger indemnity exacted for a subsequent murderous assault on the tôkaidô by men of the Satsuma clan. No further reparation or elucidation of the circumstances was obtained by Colonel Neale.

The deed was probably one of private vengeance.

I have, however, received certain information from native sources, which I will proceed to relate, without of course being able to guarantee its accuracy. I have been credibly informed by more than one Japanese, who at one time or another belonged to the native guard stationed during that period in the grounds of

Tozenji, that the whole matter was one of private vengeance on the part of Itô Gumpei ; that a foreigner belonging to the legation had had an altercation with him, whilst he was on guard, upon his refusing to open a certain gate and allow the foreigner to pass through ; that the latter had in consequence become very angry, and had finally spat upon the Japanese, who, nursing his rage, vowed vengeance ; that this was why he had crept up at night, and had slain the sentry—the murder of the corporal followed from the accident of their meeting ; that he was satisfied with his vengeance, and that he had no accomplices. One of the informants declared that Itô Gumpei was seized before he could leave the grounds ; that he was then conducted under arrest to his own house, and, after examination, was forced to commit *hara kiri* then and there. These facts have been related to me very circumstantially, and there is much likelihood in their truth, or at least in there being some foundation for the murder having been due to a desire on the part of the assassin to avenge himself on a foreigner for a real or fancied insult from one of the hated intruders. If this be so, the government are absolved from the suspicion of having had any previous knowledge of the intended deed, but not in any case from the concealment of the true story from her Majesty's Representative. Still they may even have been ignorant of this at first, for it is very possible that they themselves were deceived by the officials of the daimio Tamba no Kami. I have been informed that when that noble was first requested by the government to give information on the matter, he, through his officers, professed entire ignorance of any one of his retainers having been implicated, and that it was only when the

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bloody lance and the lantern of the assassin, which he had dropped whilst attempting to make his escape, were proved to belong to his particular clan, that an explanation inculpating Itô Gumpei was vouchsafed by the daimio. That Colonel Neale and other foreigners supposed at the time that the attack was similar in its origin to that of 1861, and was the result of a plot to massacre all the members of the legation, is not surprising. It was indeed quite natural, especially as some circumstances in the case seemed clearly to point that way.

No general  
plot.

But, on a review of the whole evidence, I cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that there was no such general plot, and that the government were not aware of what was going to happen. They certainly might, in a friendly spirit, have called the attention of the British Representative to the fact that the anniversary of the attack of 1861 was at hand, and that some similar deed might be apprehended. This, in all probability, would, as Colonel Neale remarked, have prevented the occurrence of the tragedy; but if the government were not aware of any plot to attack the legation, why should they arouse suspicion, as they would suppose, needlessly in the English Representative's mind? I am inclined to believe that the visit of congratulation by a Commissioner of foreign affairs on the 26th of June was in reality merely a polite attention on the occasion of the anniversary of the former attack.

Possibly  
private  
vengeance.

On the whole, then, I think it probable that the account which I have received from native sources, years after the event, when Japanese are no longer quite so reticent, or so afraid or unwilling to speak out, as in the first period of our intercourse, is sub-

stantially correct, and that the deed was one simply of private vengeance. If so, one's first reflection naturally is that it is surprising that the government made such a secret of the matter, and did not rather disclose the motive of Itô Gumpei to her Majesty's Representative. But reticence was the order of the day, and is natural with all orientals.

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The version of the *Kinsé Shiriaku* is also worthy of record. It states that Gumpei hated foreigners, and, chafing under the idea that his prince should have to protect the objects of his dislike, had hoped that something would happen to put a stop to it; that it happened to be Gumpei's turn to be on guard (*i.e.* at some previous time), and one of the Englishmen having committed an act of discourtesy towards him, he flew into a rage, and took advantage of the darkness to accomplish his purpose.

There really seems to have been only one assailant, and the marvellous dexterity of the Japanese *samurai* in the use of the long sword is quite sufficient to account for the numerous wounds having all been inflicted by one man.

Probably  
only one  
assailant.



## CHAPTER X.

1862.

Mission of Ôhara to Yedo, accompanied by Shimadzu Saburô.—  
Proposals to the Shôgun.

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X.

Ôhara  
and  
Shimadzu  
Saburô  
arrive in  
Yedo.

Now, the Kugé Ôhara Sayémon no Kami had been dispatched from Kiôto, in the month of June, as imperial Envoy, to announce to the shôgun the determined purpose of the Mikado to expel the foreigners. He was escorted by Shimadzu Saburô, who was accompanied by a body of six hundred armed men. They arrived at Yedo in the beginning of July, and the Envoy then delivered his message to the shôgun.

Three pro-  
posals to  
the shôgun.

“The \* message declared that since barbarian vessels had commenced to visit this country, the barbarians had conducted themselves in an insolent manner, without any interference on the part of the bakufu officials; that the consequence had been that the peace of the empire had been disturbed, and the people had been plunged into misery; that his Majesty was profoundly distressed at these things, and that the bakufu on that occasion had replied that of late discord had arisen among the people, and that it was therefore impossible to raise an army for the

\* From the *Genji yumé monogatari*, vol. ii.

expulsion of the barbarians ; and they said that if his Majesty would graciously give his sister in marriage to the shôgun, the Court and camp\* would be reconciled, the people would exert themselves, and the barbarians would be swept away. Thereupon his Majesty good-naturedly granted the request, and permitted the Princess Kazu to go down to Kuantô. Contrary, however, to all expectation, traitorous officials became more and more intimate with the barbarians, and treated the Imperial family as if they were nobody ; in order to steal a day of tranquillity they forgot the long years of trouble to follow, and were close upon the point of asking the barbarians to take them under their jurisdiction. The nation had become more and more turbulent ; of late, therefore, the *rônins* of the western provinces had assembled in a body to urge the Mikado to ride to Hakoné, and, after punishing the traitorous officials, to drive out the barbarians. The two clans of Satsuma and Chôshiu had pacified these men, and were willing to lend their assistance to the Court and camp in order to drive out the barbarians. The shôgun (Taijiu Kô)† must proceed to Kiôto to take counsel with the nobles of the court, and must put forth all his strength, must dispatch orders to the clans of the home provinces and the seven circuits, and, speedily performing the exploit of expelling the barbarians, restore tranquillity to the Empire. On the one hand he must appease the sacred wrath of the Mikado's divine ancestors, and on the other inaugurate the return of faithful servants to their allegiance, and of peace and prosperity to the people, thus giving to

\* The Mikado as Emperor, and the shôgun as generalissimo.

† Literally, the great tree prince, because a general's duty in battle is to sit under a tree.—E. S.

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the Empire the immovable security of Taizan.\* Or, secondly, in accordance with the law laid down by Toyotomi Taikô,† five of the maritime daimios should take part in the government with the title of the five tairô,‡ defend the country against the barbarians, and keep up the defences properly, and should then perform the exploit of driving out the foreigners. Or, thirdly, Hitotsübashi Giôbukiô should be directed to assist the shôgun, and Echizen Chiujô§ should be appointed tairô to assist the bakufu in its conduct on domestic and foreign affairs. One of these three proposals|| must be accepted in order to prevent the disgrace of having to fold the left lappet over the right.”¶

The shôgun  
consents.

Towards the end of July the shôgun declared formally that he would obey the Emperor's orders, and Hitotsübashi was appointed his Highness's guardian, Echizen being also invested with high office.\*\*

September.  
Ohara  
and  
Shimadzu  
Saburô  
depart.

Shimadzu Saburô left Yedo on the thirteenth and Ôhara on the fifteenth of September. Their visit to the shôgun's capital had important results, which will be duly recorded, but we must first go back somewhat in time, and see what Japan was doing in Europe.

\* A mountain in Hupeh, in China.

† i.e. Taikô Sama.

‡ Chief elders. Regents.

§ These were the future shôgun, then giôbukiô, or minister of justice, and the old Prince of Echizen.

|| The *Kinsé Shiriaku* gives three measures, all of which were to be adopted. The first was that the shôgun should, on his return to Kiotô with all the daimios, ascertain the opinion of the court, expel the barbarians, and so calm the indignation of the people's divine ancestry. The two other measures were similar to the above.

¶ This the Japanese actually do, but it is an old and traditional expression adopted from the Chinese.—E. S.

\*\* *Seiji tô sai shoku*, supreme exerciser of the imperial authority.—E. S.

## CHAPTER XI.

1862.

Arrival of Japanese Envoys in London.—Their Negotiations.—

They succeed in obtaining a delay in opening Ports on certain conditions.—Unsuccessful persistency in other matters. Obstructions to Trade in Japan.—Letters from British Merchants.

ABOUT the end of April, 1862, certain Envoys from Japan arrived in London, bearing a letter from the shôgun to the Queen, for the presentation of which they desired an audience. Owing to the deep affliction in which her Majesty was plunged, in consequence of the death of the Prince Consort, their request to be admitted to her presence, which was forwarded to Scotland, was not accorded. And even had matters been different, it seemed at least doubtful whether these so-called Envoys were of sufficient rank to justify their being admitted to this high honour. Indeed, they were by no means men of exalted rank in their own Empire, and could not of course be admitted into the presence of the Emperor, probably not of the shôgun.

The Envoys had therefore an interview with Earl Russell on the 16th of May, at the Foreign Office. On

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April, 1862.  
Japanese  
Envoys  
arrive in  
London  
with  
letter from  
the shôgun.

May 16.  
Received by  
Earl  
Russell.

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XI.

Object of  
mission to  
limit inter-  
course.

this occasion the principal object of their mission was clearly developed. It was not a friendly mission undertaken to cement the bonds of amity, and to foster and increase the growing trade between the two countries; on the contrary, these Japanese were especially instructed to obtain concessions with a view of limiting and checking that trade. It is true that "they professed great anxiety to be on friendly terms with Great Britain, and to witness the increase of commercial intercourse. They dwelt, however, on the opposition of the influential classes on the one hand, and of the poor on the other, the latter being influenced more particularly by the augmented price of the necessities of life, resulting from the export trade carried on by foreigners; and on these grounds they urged the necessity of forbearance in insisting upon the opening of additional ports, a measure which they would have deferred for a time."

Negotia-  
tions.

This then was the first demand put forward by the Envoys, and it was the theme of the shôgun's letter to her Majesty. However, considering the state of Japan, it was not deemed unreasonable; and at their second interview, on the 5th of June, Earl Russell, who had communicated on the subject with Mr. Alcock on the latter's arrival in England, informed the Envoys that, out of regard to the strongly-expressed wishes of the shôgun in his letter to the Queen, and of his ministers in a letter to Mr. Alcock, her Majesty's government were willing to defer the opening of further cities and ports till the 1st of January, 1868. In return for this concession, however, the Japanese government were expected faithfully to carry out the other stipulations of the treaty at the ports of Nagasaki, Hakodaté, and Kanagawa; to repeal the old

ordinance outlawing foreigners, and, besides other recommendations to be made at Yedo by the Envoys on their return—such as the opening of the port of Tsushima at once to foreign trade—to abolish the following restrictions specifically :—

1. All restrictions, whether as regards quantity or price, on the sale by Japanese to foreigners of all kinds of merchandise, according to Article XIV. of the Treaty of the 26th of August, 1858.

2. All restrictions on labour, and more particularly on the hire of carpenters, boatmen, boats, and coolies, teachers, and servants of whatever denomination.

3. All restrictions whereby daimios are prevented from sending their produce to market, and from selling the same directly by their own agents.

4. All restrictions resulting from attempts on the part of the custom-house authorities and other officials to obtain fees.

5. All restrictions limiting the class of persons who shall be allowed to trade with foreigners at the ports of Nagasaki, Hakodaté, and Kanagawa.

6. All restrictions imposed on free intercourse of a social kind between foreigners and the people of Japan.

In default of the strict fulfilment of the above conditions, her Majesty's government were to be entitled to withdraw the concessions now made, and to insist on the provisions of the treaty of 1858 being fully carried out, and specifically on the remaining ports and cities being opened for the trade and residence of British subjects. A memorandum to this effect was duly signed by the parties on the following day.

The Japanese having thus succeeded in obtaining



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XI.

the primary object of their mission, proceeded at the same sitting to lay before Earl Russell certain other matters to which they were directed to call the attention of her Majesty's government, viz. the visit of ships of war to Japanese ports, the necessity of prohibiting in times of scarcity the export of certain articles in Japan, and the alleged unsatisfactory state of the currency.

To the first of these demands Lord Russell replied that he could not consent to any limitation being placed on the visits of ships of war, though they would not go to ports without sufficient cause. As to the second demand, his lordship was willing to consent to temporary restrictions being imposed, with the concurrence of her Majesty's Representative, on the export of articles of food in the event of a deficient harvest, for a certain period. With regard to the currency, it was too intricate a question to be decided in London. Instructions would be sent to the British Representative at Yedo.

Persistence  
of the  
Envoys.

But the requests of the Japanese Envoys had not yet been exhausted. They were very persistent, and as soon as one or two more points out of several were conceded to them, they were ready with a fresh list of subjects to be discussed. On the 8th of June they sent in a communication to Earl Russell of their desire to consult with him, or, if his lordship's business engagements would not allow of this, with Mr. Hammond, on a variety of matters mentioned in the following paper, and they wished for a decision upon them.

*[Translation from the Dutch.]*

"1. Respecting re-coining (on the desire to communicate further).

"2. Respecting the exportation of copper articles.

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"3. Respecting the not taking out of the country Japanese who are in the service of foreigners.

"4. Respecting firing with shot whilst staying in the harbour.

"5. Respecting the taking cavalry escort while staying in Japan.

"6. Respecting the duty upon things for the private use of officers.

"7. Respecting not burying elsewhere than at the open ports.

"8. Respecting the summoning of the servants of foreigners for examination.

"9. Respecting the limitation of the place of residence at each port."

Lord Russell naturally refused to discuss these secondary points, which could be more conveniently treated in Japan. His lordship, however, remarked that, even if it had been otherwise, the fact that all the points which the Envoys had expressed a wish to bring forward were fully discussed in the conferences which had taken place, and the results thereof consigned to the memorandum signed on the 6th of June, on the signature of which the Envoys took leave of his lordship, as having completed their business in England, necessarily precluded any further conference on matters of business during the remainder of their stay. At the same time, Lord Russell stated at once that no proposal could be accepted having for its object to preclude the Queen's Representative in Japan from maintaining a cavalry escort for the protection of her Majesty's servants in that country.

Earl  
Russell  
refuses new  
demands.

Again, two days afterwards, came another letter from the undaunted Envoys.

Further  
letter from  
the Envoys.

[*Translation from the Dutch.*]

"We have herewith to communicate to your Excellency as follows :

"If the silk-cocoons, silkworms' eggs, and arms, about which we consulted your Excellency lately, were now bought and sold without restriction in every harbour in Japan, it would be against the national feeling, and most inconvenient, as has always been stated.

"We have to thank your Excellency, therefore, for having arranged that those three articles shall not be sold by any other than authorized persons, so that the minister and consuls in Japan are to ask our government for the three said articles when required, as has been the usage hitherto.

"It is desirable that your Excellency should communicate the above to the minister and consuls in Japan."

To this letter an answer was returned by Lord Russell, stating that the verbal arrangement made with the Japanese Envoys was, that no obstacle should thenceforth be raised to the export of the three articles above mentioned. But that the purchase and shipment should be effected by an application on the part of the foreign merchant, through his consul, specifying the quantity of each article required, whereupon a licence for the same would be granted ; that there was no intention on the part of his lordship to agree to the creation of a monopoly in these articles in favour of certain persons authorized by the Japanese government.

More correspondence of a like nature ensued, the Envoys again stating that it would be much against the national feeling, that the articles in question should be exported or shipped by foreign merchants, and striving to make it appear that Lord Russell was attempting to alter the agreement made in confer-

ence. But his lordship would not depart from the arrangement already entered into at the conference, as to the manner in which the export of the three articles should be conducted ; all that could be conceded was that instructions should be sent to her Majesty's legation in Japan with the view of preventing abuses in this traffic.

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The despatch in which Lord Russell conveyed to Colonel Neale the memorandum, signed by his lordship and the Japanese Envoys, arrived at Yedo in August, and her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires lost no time in communicating a translation of the document to the rôjiu. He also personally explained to them with great minuteness the observations and remarks connected therewith. The intelligence that her Majesty's government had agreed to the postponement of the opening of the remaining ports and cities, as stipulated by treaty, was naturally received by the ministers with unfeigned satisfaction ; but though they expressed officially their assent to the six conditions attached to the concession, these conditions were evidently unpalatable to them. And yet there was not one among them which did not in fact amount to a due execution of some article in the original treaty, every stipulation of which the Japanese government were bound to observe. There was nothing new in the conditions ; there were no new demands to be forced upon a nation unwilling to trade ; they were our just rights, of which our merchants had been defrauded, and which, even when again made the subject of an agreement between the Japanese Envoys and the British Secretary of State, were still to be evaded in every possible manner.

Colonel  
Neale com-  
municates  
the London  
memoran-  
dum to the  
rôjiu.

It seems necessary to dwell somewhat upon the

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XI.

Obstruc-  
tions to  
trade as  
great then  
as now.

question of the obstructions which were thrown by the shôgun's government in the way of trade with foreign merchants, because it used to be the fashion with many of the latter (after the restoration in 1868 had been effected) to contrast the comparative freedom of commerce enjoyed during the first years of their residence in Japan, whilst the bakufu still ruled in Yedo, with the obstacles placed in the way of that commerce by the new government of the Emperor. This, however, was somewhat unjust; it is true that at first the new officials were not accustomed to their work, and that the dispatch of business was difficult. When is it not so in Asiatic countries? And it is also true that the inexperience of these officials contrasted unfavourably with the experience which the officials of the old government had gradually obtained by constant drilling and daily contact with the foreign element. But this particular inconvenience only lasted for a time; and although there are still many needless obstructions and frivolous delays, although many an official is insolent, and many, I fear, are venal, and although different provisions of the treaties are often evaded, or stupidly interpreted according to the strict letter of the law, in order to gain some paltry pecuniary advantage, the business of the Yokohama of to-day may be said to be conducted at least as easily as in the latter days of the shôgunate.

Cause of  
merchants'  
dissatisfac-  
tion.

The real fact of the matter was that foreign merchants, finding their legitimate trade languishing, owing to the civil war, were naturally prone to adopt any cry which could be raised against the party who had overturned the previously existing state of things. It naturally mattered nothing to them in the abstract whether shôgun or Emperor reigned in Japan; they



had come out to the land of the rising sun to make their fortunes in as short a number of years as possible, and then return to the country of their birth to enjoy their ease and the fruit of their labours. Hence their antipathy to any revolution, and their disbelief in the new government. And in this disbelief they were confirmed by the less far-seeing among the foreign Representatives, who, not comprehending the real nature of the revolution which was taking place, insisted that it would not succeed, and that "the Tycoon would come back to power." I well remember one gentleman, holding a high position, and possessed of much acuteness, telling me very decidedly, in the autumn of 1868, that a central government never could be established in Japan; that he had studied the history of the country, and had seen how there had never been a time for many centuries when the Emperor could hold his own for long; that there must be a double system, the invisible head at Kiôto, the executive ruler at Yedo. He was very positive on this point, and there might have been truth in his predictions, had all the circumstances been the same. But he had overlooked one new element, *i.e.* the foreigners in Japan. That new element had changed the conditions, and had at all events hastened the fall of the shôgunate, which, even before its resuscitation was thus prophesied, was mere dust and ashes, numbered with the things that were.

Difference  
made by  
admission  
of foreign-  
ers.

But to return. In the earlier days of intercourse with foreigners there was much complaint of obstruction to trade. In 1861 the general expression of the British mercantile community at Yokohama, as contained in letters addressed by them in answer to a circular from Captain Vyse, her Majesty's consul at

Obstruc-  
tions to  
trade in  
1861-2.  
Circulars of  
Consul  
Vyse.



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Kanagawa, was strong in its denunciation of the obstacles placed by the government in the way of a free development of commerce. Again, on the 28th of July, 1862, the consul once more addressed a communication to the British merchants, informing them that her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires was anxious to be exactly informed as to the real obstructions and restrictions, or other means directly detrimental to the permanent interests of commerce, to which merchants were then subjected by the action of the Japanese government; what facilities had been accorded, or what difficulties had been removed during the preceding twelve months, and what direct or indirect obstructions (if any) had been added during the same period.

Answers of  
British  
merchants.

In the answer received to this circular from Mr. S. J. Gower, of the firm of Jardine, Matheson and Co., it is broadly stated at the very outset that the objections to the actual system of conducting foreign trade under the surveillance of the Japanese authorities were so extremely numerous that the mere touching upon a small portion of them would far exceed the limits of a letter; "for," says he, "it would be difficult to find any transaction, either in business or otherwise, where foreigners and natives are concerned, where the influence or interference of the Japanese government is not perniciously felt, though in most cases they interfere in such a covered and concealed manner, and guarded by such tissues of falsehood, that it is totally impossible, from the fear the natives have of the officials, ever to prove anything clearly against them."

Mr. Gower then alludes to the government monopoly as regards cargo-boats, boatmen, and coolies, such a limited quantity being maintained as to be quite

insufficient for the purposes of trade, so that when there was any pressure to load or discharge a vessel, one firm could easily employ the whole establishment, and thus leave the rest of the community without the means of landing or shipping their goods; besides which, the cargo-boats provided were open and totally unadapted for carrying valuable goods in wet weather.

Again, another interference with foreign trade was that no Japanese could enter Yokohama, or have any commercial intercourse with a foreigner, without previous permission from an official, which naturally involved a heavy percentage to the latter.

The depreciation of the Mexican dollar, 100 of which could then only be exchanged for 205 *bus*, instead of the original amount of 311 *bus*, was a further source of complaint. The Japanese, on receiving dollars from the foreign merchants, were obliged to go to the treasury and exchange them for the native *bus*, so that, although imports might thereby be benefited, exports were prejudiced, and as the latter exceeded the former to an enormous extent, this system was, on the whole, prejudicial to trade.

Again, Mr. J. M. Young says, with respect to what he calls the apparent irresponsibility of the Japanese merchant:—

“In innumerable cases Japanese merchants have entered into contracts with foreigners as well for the purchase of imports as for the delivery of exports, on which large amounts of contract-money have been paid by the foreign contractors, which contracts have not been fulfilled, and in some cases considerable amounts of money which had been intrusted to Japanese merchants for the purchase of produce in the country have been stolen, and no redress could be ob-

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tained from the Japanese government, while, on the other hand, foreign merchants are bound to fulfil in full all their engagements by the laws of their respective countries. It has on all occasions been stated by Japanese officials that the Japanese merchant is a disreputable character; but this statement cannot possibly be accepted when we see that every day large amounts of valuable produce—for instance, silk—are intrusted to them by their own countrymen.”

The bulk of the grievances of the foreign mercantile community of 1862 may, in fact, be summed up as follows, from the evidence in the answers to the circular in question :—

Summary of  
principal  
grievances.

Insufficiency of cargo-boats, boatmen, and coolies; business to be transacted only with a certain number of native merchants, to whom the government gave licenses; limited supply of silk and tea; restrictions in the sale of cocoons and copper; every Japanese merchant to bring samples of his purchases from foreigners to the custom-house authorities for approval before taking delivery; official interference with the native merchant in disposing of produce; depreciation of the Mexican dollar through the action of the government in forcing the natives to exchange them at a certain low rate; tax on the wages of native servants in foreign employ, even to one-half their amount.

## CHAPTER XII.

1862.—SEPTEMBER.

Departure of Ôhara and Shimadzu Saburô.—The latter leaves in dudgeon.—Attack on a Party of Englishmen.—Murder of Mr. Richardson, and wounding of Messrs. Marshall and Clarke.—Excitement of the Yokohama Community.—Action of Consul Vyse.—Dissatisfaction of Community with Colonel Neale.—Meetings.—Conference with Diplomatic and Naval Officers.—Colonel Neale's reasons for not pursuing the Satsuma Train.—He is approved by Her Majesty's Government.

THE departure in September from Yedo of Ôhara, the imperial Envoy, and of Shimadzu Saburô, have already been mentioned. There is evidence to show that the latter left in no very good humour, and that he complained of having been treated with scant courtesy by the bakufu. We have seen that he had escorted the Envoy from Kiôto ; but what part had he played in Yedo, and what had incensed him ? Various versions are current. It is said, for instance, that he came in order to wring from the government the repeal of the ordinances whereby all daimios were forced to live a stated portion of their life in Yedo, and were obliged to leave their families in that city as hostages during their absence. These ordinances were in fact abolished,

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XII.Departure  
of Ôhara  
and of  
Shimadzu  
Saburô.Various  
causes  
assigned.

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as will be seen, soon after his departure, and it is fair to attribute their abolition to the influence of the Envoy and the Satsuma noble. Then it has been stated that one of the principal aims of Shimadzu Saburô was to obtain the concurrence of the shôgun to his being invested with a certain rank at the Mikado's court (that of *jiu-go-i-no-gé*), and to his being created Ôsumi no Kami, and this appears to have been the case; but the bakufu declined to comply with his desire, to his great chagrin. Most accounts, too, agree that the shôgun positively refused to admit him to his presence, and referred him to the rôjiu for any business which he might have to transact. There is also a story, which does not seem to be authentic, that when he was about to leave, and had informed the rôjiu of his intention to return home in a steamer which he had bought at Yokama, the answer of that high council was: "No. You shall return by land, through the Hakoné <sup>by</sup> ~~the~~, as has hitherto been the custom for all Japanese <sup>Gov</sup> ~~high~~ rank." Even if this dictation on the part of the government was not exercised, certain it is that the haughty noble started from Yedo, smarting from the treatment which he had received, and ready to take advantage of any opportunity which might offer for gratifying his desire of vengeance upon the shôgun.

Sept. 14.  
Party of  
four  
English  
riding  
along the  
tôkaidô.

Now, it happened that, on the afternoon of the 14th of September, a party of English crossed over in a boat from Yokohama to Kanagawa, and riding their horses, rode along the tôkaidô, perfectly within the treaty limits, towards the post town of Kawasaki, on the banks of the river which defines those limits.

The party was composed of Mrs. Bonham, the wife of a merchant at Hong Kong; of Mr. William



Marshall, her brother-in-law, a merchant in Yokohama; of Mr. W. C. Clarke, of the house of Messrs. H. Heard and Co.; and, finally, of Mr. C. L. Richardson, who had just retired from business in China, and was on a visit to Japan, prior to his return to England. As they rode along, they passed several persons in travelling-litters of the better sort, surrounded by a few two-sworded attendants, some of whom carried spears. These formed a continuous but irregular train, and the foreigners were careful to walk their horses whilst passing them, and only to canter during the intervals where the road was perfectly clear.

At one spot (as I have been told by Mr. Marshall, who, if he was still alive, would vouch for the accuracy of my details, as he did when I read them over to him in my temple-house in Yedo) they came up to a few officials who were standing by their horses on the road, and amongst them was a custom-house interpreter known to Mr. Marshall. The latter asked the interpreter what they were doing there, when he replied that they were waiting to receive a high official. Mr. Marshall remarked that his party were going on to Kawasaki, to see the famous temple in the vicinity. If, then, there had been any impropriety or supposed danger in the party proceeding towards their destination, the Japanese interpreter should surely have warned the foreigners. But he said nothing further.

After riding on some four miles, the English met a regular procession (afterwards ascertained to be that of Shimadzu Saburô), preceded by about a hundred men in single file on either side of the road. They kept well to the near side, walking their horses, until they arrived at the main body, which was then occupying

They meet  
Shimadzu  
Saburô's  
train.



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One man  
bars the  
way, and  
wounds Mr.  
Richardson  
and Mr.  
Marshall.

the whole of the road. Mrs. Borrodaile and Mr. Richardson were about ten yards in advance, Mr. Richardson riding on the off-side of that lady. When a few of the procession had passed, a man stepped in front of them and barred the way. Mr. Clarke exclaimed, "Don't go on, we can turn into a side road," and Mr. Marshall added, "For God's sake, let us have no row." The horses of the whole party were then being quietly turned round, when, as Mr. Marshall states in his evidence on oath, "I saw a man in the centre of the procession throwing the upper part of his clothes off his shoulders, leaving himself naked to the waist; and drawing his sword, which he swung in both hands, he rushed upon Richardson. I shouted, 'Away!' but, before our horses were started, Richardson was struck across his side, under the left arm. The same man rushed upon me, and struck me in the same place under the left arm."

Mr. Clarke  
is wounded.

Foreigners  
take to  
flight.

A portion of the advanced guard then closed in upon the party, and about half-a-dozen, drawing their swords, and barring the passage, struck at the foreigners as they urged on their horses in a homeward direction. Mr. Clarke received a wound on the left shoulder, and his horse was struck on the left hip; one or two Japanese were ridden over, but all four got clear of the procession, and went on at a hand-gallop without any further interruption. They had not, however, proceeded far, when Mr. Richardson came up to Mr. Clarke, begging him to stop, and saying, "Oh, Clarke, they have killed me." Mr. Clarke replied that he was himself wounded, and he entreated Mr. Richardson to keep his seat, and to move on as quickly as possible; this being the only chance of safety. Mr. Marshall, who was behind, now saw that

Mr. Richardson's horse was beginning to flag, so, shouting to the two others to go on, as he would look after Mr. Richardson, he drew up alongside of him, and asked him if he was "bodily hurt." To this question no answer came, and almost immediately afterwards the horse stopped, and the poor man fell to the ground. Mr. Marshall, concluding that he was quite dead, for his bowels were protruding and he was motionless, felt that he could do no good by remaining there, more especially as he himself was seriously wounded, so he put his horse into a gallop, and overtook Mrs. Borrodaile and Mr. Clarke just at the entrance of Kanagawa. There he also found his own and another betto (native groom). The former he sent to look after Mr. Richardson's body, and mounting the other on the latter's horse, which had followed without its luckless rider, sent him on to Yokohama. Both Mr. Marshall and Mr. Clarke became faint and dizzy from loss of blood, and they found refuge and every attention and kindness at the American consulate in Kanagawa.

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Mr.  
Richardson  
falls.

Messrs.  
Marshall  
and Clarke  
reach the  
American  
consulate in  
Kanagawa.

Mrs. Borrodaile appears to have ridden on for very life, and to have reached Yokohama at about half-past three. The unfortunate lady arrived at Mr. S. J. Gower's house in a fearful state of agitation and disorder, her hat gone, and her hands, face, and clothes bespattered with blood. She related the circumstances of the attack, and stated that she herself had escaped, she knew not how; that a cut was aimed at her head, which she fortunately avoided by quickly stooping, though her hat was cut away by the blow; that after they had dashed through the Japanese, she saw Mr. Richardson fall from his horse apparently dead, and that the others being severely wounded, Mr.

Mrs. Borro-  
daile rides  
on to  
Yokohama.

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XII.

Marshall told her to ride for her life, and try to save herself, as they would probably not be able to keep up. That she scarcely remembered what happened afterwards, but recollected riding into the sea, preferring the risk of drowning to falling into the hands of the assailants. That her horse, however, regained the road, and continued his headlong course towards Yokohama, twice falling under her, but that by some means she regained her seat, and thus she had eventually arrived, fainting and exhausted, at Mr. Gower's house.

Mr. Richardson's throat was cut after he fell from his horse.

It may here be as well to record that Mr. Richardson does not seem to have been quite dead when he fell from his horse. Captain Vyse, her Majesty's consul at Kanagawa, having heard a report of this nature, coupled with a horrid suspicion that the unfortunate man had been subsequently butchered in cold blood by Japanese armed men, proceeded a fortnight subsequently to the scene of the attack, and there gathered the following information from a native woman :—

“The woman recollected seeing a foreigner fall from his horse, on the afternoon of the 14th of September; he had a large wound in his stomach; went up to him, and he immediately asked for water, but she took him none, because she was too much afraid. Afterwards saw him drinking from a bottle (Mr. Richardson is known to have taken a bottle of champagne with him, slung upon his arm). She asked him to get off the *tôkaidô*, because, on looking up the road, she saw that a daimio's cortége was approaching. She saw one of the advance guard of the train draw his sword and attempt to cut the wounded foreigner's throat, but was prevented by his putting up both his

hands; one of his hands was then cut away;\* more men came up, drew their swords, and hacked him; finally, one of them caught him by the beard and cut his throat; they then covered up the body with straw and went on.

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“In reply to some questions, the woman said she did not recollect any orders being given by any person in a norimon;† recognized that the train was composed of Satsuma’s men, but does not know the name of the chief personage in the procession. The woman further stated that an interval of about ten minutes or a quarter of an hour elapsed from the time the foreigner fell, until the men came up and cut Mr. Richardson’s throat.”

The report of what had happened now flew round the settlement, and a large body of residents of all nationalities collected, and proceeding by land and water to Kanagawa, found Messrs. Marshall and Clarke at the American consulate, where their wounds had been carefully dressed by Dr. Hepburn, of the American mission.

Foreigners  
proceed to  
Kanagawa.

Colonel Neale on his side, on being informed of the distressing circumstances, at once ordered the legation Escort to mount and be in readiness to act as they might be required. He then ascertained that Mr. Marshall and Mr. Clarke were safe at the United States’ consulate at Kanagawa, that Mr. Richardson was lying dead on the road in the vicinity of that place, but beyond it, and he had already conducted Mrs. Borrodaile to her own residence in Yokohama.

The lega-  
tion escort  
ordered to  
be ready.

\* This seems to be correct. The left hand was nearly severed by the assassin.

† The litter is meant in which Shimadzu Saburô was being carried.

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Reason for  
not sending  
them to the  
tôkaidô.

Such being the state of the case, Colonel Neale, as he reported to Earl Russell, at once abandoned all thoughts of sending the Escort, composed of seven or eight, along the tôkaidô, where they would probably run the gauntlet through hundreds of armed men, fresh from the outrage and murder just perpetrated. Moreover, their commanding officer, Lieutenant Applin, was absent, and there was no one to aid or to rescue had he been present. The water-communication with Kanagawa was speedy and safe, and Colonel Neale immediately requested that an armed cutter should be despatched across the bay from her Majesty's ship "Centaur," in order to bring over to Yokohama the two wounded gentlemen and the body of Mr. Richardson. On returning to the spot where he had left the Escort, he found, greatly to his surprise, that they were gone, and upon inquiry he learnt that Captain Vyse, who was not in Yokohama at the earlier stage of these proceedings, had, upon his arrival, taken the men with him by the high road to Kanagawa. Lieutenant Applin then appearing, he was told by Colonel Neale that the Escort had gone without necessity and without authority. The former answered that he would follow them, and would see that all was right.

Taken off  
by Captain  
Vyse.

Lieutenant  
Applin  
accom-  
panies the  
party.

Meanwhile, several of the residents, who had proceeded to the American consulate at Kanagawa, determined at once to go in search of Mr. Richardson. As they reached the main road, they perceived Captain Vyse, accompanied by some other residents on horseback, together with the mounted Escort, all bent upon the same errand. They all rode on together, and two miles further on were overtaken by Lieutenant Applin, who ordered a halt. He stated that Colonel Neale was extremely incensed that the guard should have been



taken out of Yokohama without his special orders. The British consul, however, explained that it was his duty at all hazards to recover and identify his missing countryman, and that having found the guard in the saddle ready to start, but without any instructions as to what course they were to pursue (though Colonel Neale was fully aware of the urgent demand for assistance), he had thought it his duty to order them at once to follow him. Lieutenant Applin, upon hearing this explanation, was satisfied, and gave the word to advance, thereby sharing with Captain Vyse the responsibility of thus acting without having obtained orders from Colonel Neale.

There cannot be reasonable doubt, I think, in the mind of any impartial reader, after perusing the above details, that both Captain Vyse and Lieutenant Applin were not justified in disregarding Colonel Neale's wishes. Much allowance must doubtless be made for the excitement of the moment, when men's blood was up at the sudden report of the wanton butchery of their unarmed countrymen; and, with whatever intention Lieutenant Applin started from Yokohama, it is very conceivable that, finding the party so far along the road, especially without having encountered any resistance, or even a single Japanese train, he was carried away by the general feeling, and was loth to be behind the rest in assisting to recover the body of the murdered man. Still, it was clearly the duty of her Majesty's consul to have awaited the return of Colonel Neale, who had ordered the Escort to be mounted and in readiness to obey his orders, and he, as consul, had surely no right to give any orders at all to an Escort which belonged to the legation and not to the consulate.



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Joined by  
the French  
mounted  
guard.

The corpse  
found.

The party now continued along the road till they arrived at the halfway house between Kanagawa and Kawasaki, where they were joined by the French mounted guard, who had received orders from M. Duchesne de Bellecourt, the French Representative, to act in concert with Captain Vyse and those who accompanied him. They then made some fruitless inquiries, the people affecting entire ignorance upon the matter. A little boy, however, at last came forward, and volunteered to point out where the body was lying; under his guidance they retraced their steps about half a mile, and found the corpse some ten yards off the road, in a field, at the side of a small cottage. It was covered over with a couple of old mats, which, on being removed, revealed a most ghastly and horrible spectacle. The whole body was one mass of blood; one wound, from which the bowels protruded, extended from the abdomen to the back; another on the left shoulder had severed all the bones into the chest; there was a gaping spear-wound over the region of the heart, the right wrist was severed so that the hand hung merely by a strip of flesh; the back of the left hand was nearly cut through; and, upon the head being moved, the neck was found to be entirely cut through on the left side.

From the subsequent information obtained by Captain Vyse, as already recorded, the supposition was confirmed that the two first-mentioned wounds were inflicted whilst Mr. Richardson was on horseback, and the others subsequently.

Brought to  
Kanagawa.

A litter was hastily constructed, and the party returned with the body to Kanagawa; there they met detachments from her Majesty's ship "Centaur" and the French man-of-war, the latter under the command of

Captain Count d'Harcourt, and accompanied by M. de Bellecourt and his body-guard. They learned that some two-sworded men had drawn their weapons upon the French guard, and had menaced a party of four other foreigners, who were only saved by one of them keeping his revolver pointed at the assailants, who thereupon retired. On hearing this, the community of Yokohama was greatly excited, and, when it was reported that the Japanese train had rested for the night at a village only a short distance from Kanagawa, there was great irritation on the part of many members against her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires who, naturally enough it would seem, had sent a messenger to recall his Escort. It was resolved at once to call a public meeting, a strong feeling having arisen in the breasts of many that it was practicable by prompt measures to arrest the murderers, and to inflict a severe lesson upon the perpetrators of such crimes.

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Excitement  
of Yoko-  
hama com-  
munity.

Irritation  
against  
Colonel  
Neale.

Public  
meeting at  
night.

The minutes of the meeting, which was held the same evening at about ten o'clock, and was attended by almost the whole of the foreign community, show that Captain Vyse, her Majesty's consul, took the chair, and stated that he had that moment returned from an interview with Rear-Admiral Kuper, who had just arrived in her Majesty's ship "Euryalus," accompanied by the "Ringdove"; that the Admiral had already been informed of the fearful events of the day, and that he had announced his intention of having an interview with Colonel Neale on the subject at noon the next morning.

The following resolutions were carried unanimously :—

"That the British, French, Dutch, American, and Portuguese authorities be requested to take such im-

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mediate steps as seem to them best calculated to prevent the recurrence of such a deplorable event as has occurred this evening, and that ample reparation be demanded of the Japanese government for the murderous attack on unarmed British subjects peacefully travelling within treaty limits."

(A proposition to request the foreign authorities to land 1000 men with sufficient *matériel* for the purpose of arresting the guilty parties at once, and to take possession of Kanagawa, was rejected as being an attempt to dictate to the foreign authorities what steps they ought to take.)

"That, in consequence of the explanation given by her Britannic Majesty's consul of his interview with the British Admiral, it is earnestly desired by this meeting that the commanders of the foreign forces may be at once conferred with, so that immediate steps may be taken to secure, if possible, the person of the daimio whose retainers have committed the murder, or some of his high officers, in order to guarantee speedy reparation for the horrible outrage."

"That a deputation be appointed to wait on the naval and other authorities."

Deputation  
to naval  
and other  
authorities.

(The deputation was then appointed, and Captain Vyse was desired to introduce its members.)

"That these proceedings for the present be kept sacredly secret amongst ourselves, lest the Japanese gain any information as to the course of action proposed to be pursued."

Resolutions of sympathy for the victims of the outrage, and of thanks to M. de Bellecourt and Count d'Harcourt for their prompt assistance were then carried unanimously, and another resolution adjourned the meeting till 3 a.m., by which time the committee

appointed to confer with the commanders of the forces were expected to be able to report progress.

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One more resolution was carried unanimously before the meeting adjourned. It was in these terms:—

“That the special and sincere thanks of the meeting be tendered to Captain Vyse for the noble and spirited manner in which he has acted throughout this affair, and that with his name be associated those of several of her Majesty’s servants who gave their aid in recovering the body of our poor friend, especially those upon whom the responsibility fell of leading out the guard to seek for the body, which would have lain rotting in the road had they waited the orders of a superior.”

The meeting then adjourned till 3 a.m.

There were then lying in Yokohama Bay, besides the “Euryalus,” a frigate of thirty-five guns, and the “Ringdove” of four guns, the English sloop “Centaur” of six guns, and the English gun-boat “Kestrel.” The French force consisted of the frigate “Le Monge,” the corvette “Duplex,” and the steamship “Dordogne” of ten guns ; and there was also the Dutch ship of war “Vice-Admiral Koopman.”

The committee of nine appointed by the meeting at once entered upon their duties. Accompanied by the British consul, they proceeded on board her Majesty’s ship “Euryalus,” and Admiral Kuper immediately rose from his bed, and received them.

Interview  
with  
Admiral  
Kuper.

They informed him of the events of the afternoon, and said that as it was known the cortége was passing the night at a short distance from Kanagawa, they considered that the immediate arrest of the guilty parties could be effected, were a force at once despatched upon this errand.

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The Admiral stated his willingness to adopt any practical measures that could possibly be suggested, consistent with prudence; but he explained that, having only arrived a few hours previously, and being a perfect stranger to all the localities, he could not feel justified in proceeding to any active measures without first consulting her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'affaires. He said, however, that he was ready at any moment to enter into such consultation, and that he should consider no hour too early to meet the diplomatic agents and the foreign naval commanders. It was accordingly arranged that the meeting should take place at 6 a.m., at the residence of the French Envoy.

With  
Count  
d'Harcourt  
and  
Captain  
Buys.

The committee then visited Count d'Harcourt and Captain Buys of the "Vice-Admiral Koopman," both of whom are represented to have expressed themselves in favour of the adoption of immediate coercive measures, and they promised to attend the proposed meeting.

With  
Colonel  
Neale.

They next proceeded to Colonel Neale's house. Their report of what took place at the interview which followed is in these terms:—

Colonel Neale did not, they said, after having heard their statement, appear either to approve of the steps that had been taken, or to concur in what was proposed to be done. "Understanding, however, that the meeting was agreed to by the French minister, the English admiral, and other foreign officials, he said he would be present, though he considered it a most unusual proceeding, and he evinced considerable annoyance at any meeting having been held by the community."

Colonel Neale also gives an account of this visit. After remarking that the settlement of Yokohama, as far at least as the Japanese were concerned, remained



thoroughly tranquil and undisturbed, he says that the British and a few other members of the foreign community had thought it essential to hold a midnight meeting, where resolutions were passed appointing a deputation to wait upon the various civil and naval authorities, with a view of inducing them to immediate action, that is to say, to send out an armed force from all the foreign ships in harbour, for the purpose of attacking the cortége of the high Japanese personage, consisting of between five and six hundred men, and also of seizing the person of the chief. Colonel Neale then mentions the visit of the deputation to him, when they stated that they had already waited upon Admiral Kuper, who had just arrived from Hong Kong, and also upon the senior French naval officer and other officials, and that all had agreed to meet at the French minister's residence at six o'clock the same morning, for the purpose of discussing the propriety of adopting the measures which had been suggested.

There were reasons which made Colonel Neale disinclined to comply with the request of the deputation. The whole of the previous proceedings had been taken by the foreign community, headed by the British consul, entirely without his knowledge, and independent of him; in his judgment the violent coercive measures aimed at by the community were impracticable, impolitic, and dangerous; he entirely disagreed in the expediency of calling any such meeting as that now suggested, more especially as it was to be held at the French Envoy's house, whereas the sufferers from the outrage were all British subjects. But inasmuch as Admiral Kuper, whom he had not yet even seen, had consented to attend the meeting,

Meeting  
finally  
arranged



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XII.

and considering the over-excitement of the community, he promised to be at the French legation at the appointed hour.

The  
meeting.

There were present at 6 a.m. on the morning of the 15th, at M. de Bellecourt's residence, besides himself and the British Chargé d'affaires, Admiral Kuper, with Captain Joslin and other naval officers of the British, French, and Dutch services, as well as the Consular body.

The resolutions of the committee having been read, Colonel Neale proceeded, at the invitation of M. de Bellecourt, to express his opinion as to the suggestions contained therein. He reports himself to have spoken as follows:—

Colonel  
Neale's  
reasons  
against vio-  
lent coercive  
measures.

"It is my decided opinion that the coercive measures proposed to be adopted in the resolutions of the community are not only utterly impracticable, but if they could, with any chance of success, be carried into effect, I deem that to enter upon actual armed conflict with several hundreds of armed Japanese, who are passing along the high-road, and to seize the person of their chief, would be tantamount to a sudden commencement of hostilities with the government of Japan, with whom I have not had even time to communicate respecting the event which has only a few hours since occurred. Such a premature measure, I added, would be altogether unjustifiable, fraught with all the evils and consequences of actual war, the stoppage of trade, and result, probably, by involuntarily engaging her Majesty's government in a course of action which it had not contemplated. And I further added, however distressing the outrage which had thus unhappily been added to those which have preceded it, I must bear in mind, and the community

must bear in mind, apart from all private considerations, that in a national point of view the premeditated attacks, accompanied with bloodshed and murder, which took place within the precincts of her Majesty's legation at Yedo, and directed against the life, on two occasions in one year, of her Majesty's Representative, still more loudly called for reparation.

"I awaited the instructions of her Majesty's government, whose hands I have not hampered by premature acts of reprisal or violence towards the Japanese authorities, and I see no good or rational reason why I should pursue a contrary course on the present occasion."

Colonel Neale added that he intended immediately to enter into urgent communication with the Japanese government, with a view to the immediate increase of the guards on the high-road and within treaty limits, so as to avert the chance of a recurrence of such an outrage. His despatch continues in these words :—

"My colleague of France then left the room, and returned with a paper upon which he said he had already written his opinions, and which, when read, coincided in every material respect with my own.

The French  
Envoy reads  
a paper  
coinciding  
with  
Colonel  
Neale's  
opinion.

"My colleague, however, spoke strongly of the necessity of adopting energetic measures for the defence of Yokohama and the settlement by military patrols going through it by night and by day and around the neighbourhood, as well as mounted men on the high-road, and other demonstrations. A discussion then followed on the part of the other members present as to the exact measures of this nature to be adopted, respecting which I only observed that I should certainly approve any measures of this nature, with the exception of the patrols making demonstrations on the

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high-roads, the effect of which would be to invite collision with the armed Japanese retainers ; and especially I considered this to be inexpedient, as, in point of fact, the settlement was in no degree menaced from any quarter, or likely to be so. The whole discussion closed by its having been determined that the French and Dutch naval commanders should proceed on board the 'Euryalus,' and confer with Admiral Kuper as to the details respecting some additional guards which will patrol the settlement, and row-boats to pass to and fro at night around the bay."

These arrangements were satisfactorily carried out.

Captain  
Vyse's  
account  
of the  
meeting to  
the commu-  
nity.

At eight o'clock the same morning, the community again assembled, and her Majesty's consul, who, with Mr. E. Clarke, had been present at M. de Bellecourt's house, made the following statement :—

He said that the *compte-rendu* of the proceedings at that meeting was so involved and contradictory that it was difficult correctly to report its contents ; that there had been considerable discussion, and much difference of opinion ; that the French minister and commander were for decided and active measures ; that Colonel Neale had stated that he had not received any official intimation of the murder. (With regard to this, the latter explained that Admiral Kuper had desired to see a written statement of what had occurred.) Captain Vyse said it would now be his duty to lay the circumstances before Colonel Neale in a despatch ; also that the latter had remarked that he had himself been attacked in the legation at Yedo, and was actually a prisoner in his house there, and that he did not see how residents in Yokohama could expect to be exempt from equal liabilities.

The statement that the French minister had declared

himself to be in favour of decided and active measures does not tally with the paper which, as Colonel Neale reports, was brought by the former into the room, and when read coincided in every material respect with the opinion of his English colleague. In order to reconcile the two accounts, we must consider that the decided and active measures advocated by M. de Bellecourt, at least at the meeting, were confined to measures for the defence of the settlement, and did not proceed the length of sending an armed force to attack the Japanese.

The result of the eight o'clock meeting of the community was a proposal, which was carried unanimously, that a committee should be appointed to draw up a statement of all that had passed, such statement to be transmitted without loss of time to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in London.

The document was accordingly drawn up by the Reverend M. B. Bailey, consular chaplain, and Messrs. S. Gower and F. Bell, who composed the committee, and it was forwarded by Colonel Neale to Earl Russell. It is from this document that the account of these proceedings, as given above, has been mostly taken. It received eighty-four signatures, all English except twenty-three, which were those of American and Dutch subjects.

Document  
drawn up  
by a com-  
mittee and  
forwarded  
by Colonel  
Neale to  
Earl  
Russell.

The community, headed by her Majesty's consul, were therefore at issue with her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires, as to the course to be pursued in this crisis. In attempting to pass judgment upon the case, one should remember especially that the community were not responsible to her Majesty's government for the results of any particular line of action, and that Colonel Neale was. If, yielding to popular clamour, to the natural

Community  
and consul  
at issue  
with Chargé  
d'affaires.

The latter  
alone  
responsible.

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feeling of intense excitement existing at the moment, and to the desire for immediate revenge on the Japanese concerned in a savage and unprovoked attack in cold blood upon his unarmed countrymen, the British Chargé d'affaires, sure of the concert of the naval authorities of other nationalities, had called upon Admiral Kuper to land his men, and go out to attack the Japanese, he might doubtless, had success attended the venture, have gained much glory and popularity. And success might have followed. But he could not command it ; nor was it by any means certain that an attack on the night of the 14th could have resulted in the capture of the murderer of Mr. Richardson, still less of the chief personage, and certainly the expedition, which would have started on the 15th, when the train had proceeded further on its way, would have found greater difficulty in attaining its object.

It may be assumed, with our present knowledge of Japan, as it then was, that war with the Empire would probably not have ensued from the chastisement of a noble and a clan not then on the best terms with the bakufu ; the subsequent bombardment of Kagoshima by an English squadron, which was the consequence of the murder of Mr. Richardson, did not, as we know, produce any such declaration of war by Japan, and indeed the bakufu, tottering to its fall, looked on with indifference, or even with secret satisfaction, at measures taken against the individual Satsuma clan ; but I believe I am justified in affirming that when the English squadron started from Yokohama, it was expected rather that a demonstration would suffice to obtain the desired reparation than that direct hostilities would be the result.

But be this as it may, the British Representative, and



he alone, was in a very responsible position. He had to weigh the consequences, and he could not overlook the likelihood, in our then ignorance of the country, and of its peculiar organization, that even if an armed force sent against the train of Shimadzu Saburô was successful, such violent proceedings would bring on a war between England and Japan. And would such a war have been grateful to the British nation? Would Colonel Neale's action have then been approved by her Majesty's government?

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That Admiral Kuper coincided in the decision not to land a large force for the purpose of attacking the Japanese cortége and taking its chief prisoner, is evident from his despatch of September 20th to Vice-Admiral Hope, in which he adduces various reasons against the proposed measure, such as—

Admiral  
Kuper's  
reasons for  
coinciding  
with  
Colonel  
Neale.

1. The small chance of success in securing the right man in the midst of a mob of some eight hundred or a thousand followers, all probably prepared to sacrifice their own lives to ensure the escape of their chief.

2. The probable result, in the event either of success or failure, of immediate hostilities with Japan, for which preparation was not made.

3. The questionable right of landing a large force for an aggressive purpose in a country with the government of which Great Britain was at amity and allied by treaty.

4. The dangers such an act would entail upon the lives and property of the whole European community in Japan.

5. The difficulty that would arise, in the event of success, as to the disposal of the prince when taken.

That her Majesty's government, to whom alone a



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H. M.'s  
government  
approve  
Colonel  
Neale.

British Representative has to look for approval or disapproval of his action, were satisfied with Colonel Neale, is abundantly clear. In the very first despatch on this affair, addressed by Earl Russell to him on the 9th of December, his lordship stated that her Majesty's government approved the judgment and forbearance which he had displayed in resisting the pressure attempted to be put upon him, and which, had he yielded to it, might have involved her Majesty's government in hostility with Japan.

"You acted prudently," the despatch continued, "in discountenancing the proposal of landing a force from the ships to execute summary vengeance on those retainers of the daimio who committed the outrage. Whatever course circumstances may compel her Majesty's government hereafter to pursue in order to bring home to the government and nobles of Japan the conviction that such acts of violence will bring retribution on their heads, you, without instruction, could only look to the Japanese government for redress ; and it is satisfactory to find that Rear-Admiral Kuper concurred with you in the propriety of the course which you pursued.

"In demanding redress from the ministers of the Tycoon, you have adopted the only course which was properly open to you ; and when the result of your demand, which her Majesty's government hope to learn from you by the next mail, is known, the course which her Majesty's government will adopt towards Japan will be definitively settled."

But this is anticipating somewhat the order of events.

## CHAPTER XIII.

1862.

Colonel Neale demands Reparation.—Inquest on Mr. Richardson's Body.—Conferences which produce no result.—Possible cause of the Murder.—Proposition to open a new Road for Daimios.

ON the 15th of September Colonel Neale addressed an indignant letter to the ministers for foreign affairs at Yedo, demanding reparation for the murderous attack subsequently ascertained to have been made by Japanese belonging to a cortége attending on "the uncle or regent prince of Satsuma." \*

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Colonel  
Neale  
demands  
reparation.

Now, it was only on the previous day that Colonel Neale had been informed by the Yedo ministers that Ôhara Sayémon no Kami, the Mikado's Envoy, was to leave the shôgun's capital on the 15th, on his return to Kiôto, and their Excellencies had consequently requestd that the necessary instructions might be issued for warning British subjects against frequenting the tôkaidô on that and the following day. His answer

\* The term regent prince is perhaps fanciful. It has already been explained who Shimadzu Saburô was, and he certainly possessed the actual power in Satsuma.

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was to the effect that it was no light matter to prohibit British subjects from proceeding wherever they desired within the treaty limits; that the Envoy's attendants were, as he was informed, not so formidable or so numerous that no check could be placed by the government upon the order and propriety of their march, and that the Envoy himself, or, failing him, an extra number of guards for the short distance to be traversed within treaty limits, could impose a competent check upon these attendants. Still, after thus establishing his undoubted right to decline acceding to the proposal of the ministers, Colonel Neale promised to instruct the British consul, for this particular occasion, to request British subjects not to frequent the tôkaidô on the days in question.

Before this letter and the translation into Dutch could be dispatched, news of the attack of the 14th reached Colonel Neale. He was thus enabled to comment severely on the proceedings of the government. He remarked to them that this outrage had been committed on the day previous to that on which he was informed that there might be danger; that the government had allowed a numerous band of lawless and ferocious men to go forth, all the time knowing what would happen if these men met with foreigners: and that there was not one soldier or guard of the shôgun's government on the road, to warn or restrain such savages.

The reparation for the blood of unoffending British subjects would, Colonel Neale continued, be decided by the high tribunal of his government. He demanded, however, that the assassins should be arrested, and kept in safe custody by the shôgun's government; the prince, their master, he said, would

He demands  
arrest of  
assassins  
and more  
guards on  
the  
tôkaidô.

doubtless be found, when required. He also demanded, as a precautionary measure, the posting of sufficient guards at very short intervals, whatever might be the number required, to render the road secure from Yokohama to Kanagawa, and around and within the treaty limits, and he gave the ministers one week to carry out the necessary arrangements.

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The inquest on the body of Charles Lenox Richardson was held on the 16th, the British consul acting as coroner, and a verdict of guilty of wilful murder was recorded against "certain Japanese men (whose names are to the jurors unknown), armed with swords, lances, and other arms after the fashion of their country, and bearing the same by authority, being officials or officers in either the military or civil service of Japan."

Inquest  
on Mr.  
Richard-  
son's body.

Various conferences now ensued between Colonel Neale and Japanese officials of different degrees of rank, and the usual assurances were given that a thorough investigation of the circumstances of the case should take place, and that the persons immediately concerned in the deed should be arrested. The government were stated to be in communication with the agent of the Prince of Satsuma, at Yedo, himself a person of high rank, and they pretended to be in expectation of obtaining a definite result by such action. In one letter, dated the 16th of September, they say (according to the published translation) that the chief retainer of Shiuri no Taiyu (the reigning prince) had sent a report on the matter, and that, by order of the governor of Kanagawa, one of his officers had examined Shimadzu Saburô. What this means it is difficult to understand, but it may be safely affirmed that no official ventured to examine that haughty

Conferences  
and corres-  
pondence,  
between  
Colonel  
Neale and  
Japanese  
ministers.

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personage, the real ruler of so powerful a clan. We can more readily believe the succeeding sentence which declares that, in the answer given by Shimadzu Saburô to the officer, there was something very improper. But the whole investigation by the bakufu was naturally a farce; they knew that their power was on the wane, that they could avail nothing against a man so high in the counsels of the Emperor, and all that they could do was to attempt, by means of any petty subterfuge, to prevent the British Representative from proceeding to extremities.

Possible  
cause of the  
murder.

It is hardly necessary to inquire into the particular circumstances which led to the attack on our unarmed countrymen. But it may have happened in this wise. There used always to be, in the trains of Japanese of rank, retainers called *soba-nin*, who walked on either side of their master's palanquin. It is highly probable that these men, on seeing Mr. Richardson and his party, informed their lord of the fact, and that he, suddenly perceiving an opportunity of creating embarrassment to the Yedo government, himself gave the order to attack the foreigners. But even this explanation is not required. Every Japanese not belonging to the military class was obliged, by the law and custom of the land, to draw aside and prostrate himself whilst a noble of high rank passed along; a *samurai* of inferior rank must equally draw aside, and if on horseback must dismount; and the very fact that these "barbarians," whom Japanese *samurai* looked upon as inferiors, not getting off their horses and not doing obeisance to the haughty lord, would be sufficient to excite his ire and that of his followers.

As the proceedings of the government were highly



unsatisfactory, Colonel Neale went up to Yedo on the 22nd of September in her Majesty's ship "Euryalus," with Rear-Admiral Kuper, the "Ringdove" and "Kestrel" being in company. On the following day, a long and formal conference ensued at the official residence of the Japanese ministers, her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires being accompanied by the Admiral, and by several naval officers and gentlemen of the legation.

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Colonel  
Neale pro-  
ceeds with  
Admiral  
Kuper to  
Yedo for a  
conference.

The conference ended in nothing. The ministers expressed deep regret, and made large promises of reparation, but, as on other occasions, they allowed that if the Prince of Satsuma did not give up the guilty men, the latter could not be arrested by the government in his territory. In fact, they were forced to avow that they could not exercise any act directed against the daimio or one of his adherents within the principality, even in a case like the present, where it might become necessary that arrests should be made by the agents of the bakufu. A pretty confession for a government supposed to be sovereign! The ministers had the assurance to add that the daimio would no doubt act as might be required, in obedience to the shôgun and his council. This was a very gratuitous assertion, which we can hardly suppose they believed themselves, and which was wellnigh impossible to realize in these latter days of the shôgunate.

It ends in  
nothing.  
Japanese  
ministers  
cannot  
exercise  
authority  
within the  
Satsuma  
territory.

With regard to measures of safety for the future, the ministers proposed, in compliance with Colonel Neale's request, to erect guard-houses along the tôkaidô, where soldiers would be stationed to protect foreigners, and to give escorts to the latter whilst riding there on the days when daimios were passing. But they could say nothing more, after being pressed,

More  
guards  
promised.



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as to the orders to be given at the guard-houses, than that the men would turn out to prevent any collision between trains of natives and foreigners. From previous experience it may well be supposed that such a measure would hardly have the effect of preventing a collision. The guards, in those days at least, would either have done nothing, and calmly looked on whilst the "barbarians" were being murdered, or they would not have shown themselves at all. And in any case they would not have dared to attack a daimio's train, especially in defence of outer barbarians.

Evident  
desire to  
limit the  
use of the  
tôkaidô.

On this question nothing was settled. There was evident alarm on the part of the government, and a strong desire to prevent foreigners from using the high-road whenever a native of rank was travelling upon it. This was quite natural, for the bakufu felt that they could no longer rule these daimios as formerly, and they were of course aware of the almost universal feeling against foreigners amongst the military class. They knew that the retinue of a daimio would be only too ready, on all occasions, to attack foreigners on the plea that the latter were insulting them by refusing the signs of obeisance exacted from natives; and it has required years to eradicate this feeling. And when Colonel Neale inquired whether there was any objection to posting proclamations which should warn the people to abstain from unjustifiable interference with foreigners, the ministers replied that the people, if thus warned, would be more likely to do the very thing from which they were desired to refrain!

Proposition  
to open a  
new road  
expressly  
for daimios  
and their  
processions.

A proposition was now made for opening a new road expressly for daimios and their processions, so that within the treaty limits they would not use the

tôkaidô, the foreigners on their side engaging not to frequent the new road. Guard-houses, capable, however, of holding only five men each, were promptly erected along the tôkaidô, but the year 1862 ended without the steps alleged to have been taken by the government to arrest the assassins having borne any fruit. The only excuse they could bring forward was that they had been obliged to instruct the Prince of Satsuma to send the guilty men to Yedo without delay, but that, as the latter had to be brought from a great distance, much time might elapse before their arrival. That is to say, the men had been allowed to return to their distant country (passing, as it appeared, by Kiôto, where Shimadzu Saburô was much honoured and thanked by the Emperor for his services), and they were therefore in a place where they could not be personally arrested by the shôgun's officers, whilst nothing was less likely than that their lord would give them up to the ruler, whose policy was opposed to that of this powerful clan on the question of intercourse with foreigners.

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XIII.The year  
1862 ends  
without  
any result.

## CHAPTER XIV.

1862.

The Prince of Tosa arrives at Kiôto.—Combination of the three great Clans.—Intention of the Shôgun to proceed next year to Kiôto.—Abolition of compulsory residence of Daimios in Yedo.—Decline of the Bakufu.—Assassinations at Kiôto. Imperial Missions to Yedo.—Position of Foreign Legations there.

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BEFORE we leave 1862, there are one or two other important matters to be recorded.

Arrival of  
the Prince  
of Tosa at  
Kiôto.

At the end of September Matsudaira Tosa no Kami arrived at Kiôto, and forthwith received a message from the Court, that Satsuma and Chôshiu had lately been stopping at the Capital, and had exerted themselves greatly for the Emperor, and the Court commanded him to remain there awhile, and join his efforts in the service of the State to those of the other two clans just mentioned.

Influence  
of the three  
clans of  
Satsuma,  
Chôshiu,  
and Tosa.

The Prince of Tosa accepted the mission with gratitude, and from that time the influence of the three clans of Satsuma, Chôshiu, and Tosa was pre-dominant. A word was even coined, Sat-chô-to, being a compound of the first (Chinese) character of each

clan's name, to express the influence and popularity of the three princes.

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Thus the combination against the shôgunate grew and gained strength, and the three clans were gradually joined by many others, whose policy tended to the same point.

Other clans  
join against  
the shôgun-  
ate.

In the beginning of November, Colonel Neale was officially informed\* that the shôgun would proceed to Kiôto in the following March, and, in answer to an inquiry made by him, he learnt that it had been decreed that the daimios† who, up to that time, had resided at Yedo the whole of every alternate year, should thenceforth only repair to that city "after the third year," and fixing amongst themselves the time when they should relieve each other, should alternately reside in Yedo about one hundred days; furthermore, that they were at liberty to keep their wives and children at home in their own domains.

Shôgun to  
proceed in  
March, 1863,  
to Kiôto.

Changes as  
to forced  
residence of  
daimios in  
Yedo.

Besides the above change, the tozama, or lesser independent daimios, and the greater vassals of the Tokugawa family, were to spend one year out of three at Yedo, the fudai and certain tozama daimios, and the smaller vassals of the shôgun, called hatamoto, were to pass 200 days there in each year. There were some other changes—the custom of making presents every three months to the shôgun and of receiving gifts from him was abolished, the retainers of the daimios were diminished, and the style of their dress was rendered considerably less expensive.

\* Correspondence respecting affairs in Japan. (In continuation of correspondence presented to Parliament in February, 1863.) Presented to Parliament 1864, p. 2.

† These were the greater daimios, the *kokushiu*, such as Satsuma, Chôshiu, Tosa, Owari, &c.

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Consequent  
decline of  
the bakufu.

"In consequence," says the Japanese chronicler, "all the daimios and the hatamotos who owned lands sent their wives and children to their country residences, and in the twinkling of an eye the flourishing city of Yedo became like a desert; so that the daimios allied to the Tokugawa family, and the Tokugawa family, and the vassals of the shôgunate of all ranks, and the townspeople too, grieved and lamented. They would have liked to see the military glory of Kuantô shine again, but as the great and small daimios who were not vassals of Tokugawa had cut at the root of this forced residence in Yedo, and few of them obeyed any longer the commands of the bakufu, they also began to distrust it, and gradually the hearts of the people fell away. And so the prestige of the Tokugawa family, which had endured for 300 years, which had been really more brilliant than Kamakura in the age of Yoritomo, on a moonlight night when the stars are shining, which for more than 270 years had forced the daimios to cor-  
breathlessly to take their turn of duty in Yedo, at which had day and night 80,000 vassals at its be-  
and call, fell to ruin in the space of one morning."

These  
changes a  
deathblow  
to the  
shôgunate.

The abolition of the ordinance for the compulsory residence of the daimios in Yedo was indeed a deathblow to the shôgun's sway. It was a manifest confession that his power was shaken, and that the hold upon the great magnates was slackening. The ordinance, as already mentioned, had been passed in the early days of the Tokugawa dynasty, when the chiefs of that clan had risen to unprecedented power in Japan, so that all the other princes of the land had been fain to do homage to them, and obey their commands. During many generations that power, which had been

tion  
1863  
†  
Satsu

extensive, and had been so firmly consolidated by such men as Iyéyasū and Iyémitsū, remained almost supreme, and the daimios came up to Yedo at stated intervals, bowed their heads before his Highness, and when the period of their forced stay was over, returned to their own country, leaving wives and children behind as hostages for their own good behaviour. Nothing will give a greater idea of the extent of the usurpation of the shōgunate than the imposition and the due observance of this compulsory attendance. Nothing therefore can well prove more clearly the decline of that institution than the abolition of the ordinance. The great princes of the west were now free to weave their plots at Kiōto, in conjunction with many of the Court nobles, and slowly and surely to sap the power of the ruler of Yedo. It was manifest that the shōgun would, sooner or later, be obliged to repair to the Emperor's capital, with the object of defending his own interests, and of defeating the intrigues which were now assuming a more menacing aspect.

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Reasons  
inducing  
the shōgun  
to visit  
Kiōto.

There was also another reason for the shōgun's summons to the metropolis. It must not be forgotten that he was, by virtue of his name and office, the generalissimo, and from the earliest times his especial duty was to make war against "barbarians." These were no longer, as of yore, aborigines living in the northern portion of the main island, against whom the arms of the shōgun could be directed; there were now other barbarians polluting the sacred soil of Japan, and these the son of heaven was determined to expel. The Court, or Emperor, had so decreed, and the camp, or shōgun, must carry out the Imperial will. It was therefore natural that the *sei-i-tai-*



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XIV.

*shôgun* should be summoned to Kiôto, more especially as the Court was dissatisfied with the proceedings of his government, who procrastinated instead of acting vigorously. It was considered high time that decided measures should be taken, and that an early day should be fixed for the expulsion of all foreigners.

Assassina-  
tions at  
Kiôto.

Different assassinations took place at Kiôto towards the end of the year, the heads of the victims being often exposed in the streets. From the placards exhibited with the heads, it seemed that the men were murdered as having been engaged in what were termed traitorous schemes, and in compassing the death of "patriots." These assassinations were the work of *rônins*, who became more and more emboldened by success, and who even took upon themselves to inflict condign punishment on tradesmen, for having charged what they considered exorbitant prices for their wares. It was a lawless time in Kiôto, and I have been told by a native who used to inhabit the Capital, that hardly a day passed without blood being spilt. But it was not only on so-called traitors, or favourers of the bakufu, that the two-sworded man would draw his weapon. Flushed with his native liquor (which has the faculty of exciting quickly and intensely, but only for a short time), he would rush out into the streets, ready to try the temper of his blade on whatever he might meet. It might be another *samurai*, equally flushed with liquor, equally intent on bloodshed, and then they met in the middle of the street, defied each other, and as neither would give way, they challenged, drew their long swords, and a mortal combat ensued. Or the drunken man saw a poor beggar, one of a despised race, lying in the road,

full of sores, and would try his blade on this miserable object; a wretched dog came in his way, and he slashed at him. A dead body was not even safe from the roisterer's violence, and many a favourite cut has thus been dealt upon a corpse. But sometimes the inebriated *samurai* would do what to us appears even more cowardly and disgusting. He would creep up behind a brother *samurai*, and in pure jest, from love of blood, and again to try the temper of his sword, would cut down his unsuspecting victim, and then flee away.

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Such murders, however, as I have particularly referred to in 1862 were political, and were then considered by many Japanese as not only justifiable, but as proceeding from noble and disinterested motives.

Political  
murders.

The *rônins* were clamorous for the expulsion of foreigners, and were eager to assassinate any supporter of the bakufu, because the latter had made treaties with the "barbarians," and were thus the "head and front of the offending." These opinions were shared by the Court, and by the western daimios, who now commenced to flock in numbers to the capital. Before the close of the year those of Inshiu, Chikuzen, Geishiu, Kurumé, and Uwajima had arrived, and in December the result of this assemblage showed itself in the despatch to Yedo of two missions. The first consisted of Sanjô Chiunagon Sanéyoshi \* and Ané-no-kôji Shôshô, the second of the daimios of Inshiu and Chikuzen.

The *rônins*  
desire to  
assassinate  
supporters  
of the  
bakufu.

Two  
missions  
despatched  
to Yedo.

The position of the members of a foreign legation in Yedo at this period is well described in the following despatch from Colonel Neale:—

Position  
of  
legations  
at Yedo.

\* Now daijô-daijin, or chief minister of state under the Emperor.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.**"Yokohama, November 18, 1862.*

"MY LORD,

"Amidst the current of events through which our diplomatic and commercial relations have been maintained in this country with such consistent tenacity, I venture to believe that it would not be inappropriate to record the personal and exceptional situation of the members of her Majesty's Legation at Yedo, as contrasting with any that can well be contemplated at a distance, and contrasting also with the ordinary course of official and private tranquillity into which her Majesty's diplomatic servants in Japan will doubtless settle at a later period of our intercourse.

"The arrival of the Legation at Yedo is on each occasion preceded by a notice addressed to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs. On reaching the shore (which occupies from one and a half to two hours, as the distance from the anchorage is between three and four miles) the boats containing the members of the Legation and guards are received by a hedge of yakunins, who restrain within certain bounds the crowd which assembles on these occasions. Accompanied by the guards, the Legation residence is reached on foot, and sentries from the British guard are at once posted round it. The all but empty house is rendered habitable with the requisites and attendants brought from Yokohama. The main body of the Japanese guards appointed for the protection of the Legation, and amounting to between 200 and 300 men, but whose presence inspires little confidence, muster about their wooden huts on the rising ground around the Legation and along the avenue which leads to it.

"Preparations are now actively hurried to ensure

the appliances requisite for the guards within the Legation inclosure at night. Firewood is brought and piled on the lawn, and the numerous lanterns which are hung round the inclosure are trimmed and suspended in their places. At nightfall the sentries are increased, the bonfire and lanterns are lit, throwing a glare on all the neighbouring thickets and on all surrounding objects. The night is passed by the hourly rounds and the relief of sentries. The orders given to the sentries (with the knowledge and concurrence of the Japanese authorities are to shoot all Japanese approaching their posts within the well-defined precincts after dark.

“On the occasions when official visits are paid to the Ministers who reside at a distance, which occupies two hours to reach, the British mounted escort, consisting of ten men, accompanies the cortége; but the Japanese authorities appear to consider it indispensably necessary to surround it with from twenty to thirty horsemen of their own, who precede and follow, closely watching the movements of all persons in the streets, and especially of two-sworded men, and even a single man if he is seen approaching; for the sole act of drawing his sword impels the stroke which has so often inflicted a death-wound.

“Notwithstanding these precautions—and they can hardly be increased—startling incidents are of not unfrequent occurrence, serving as warnings of more serious casualties which may befall one at any moment. On one of the last occasions that I visited the Ministers, attended by the cortége I have described, forming a retinue of about fifty persons, my horse plunged and reared amidst a general tumult, when two horsemen passed me, coming from behind at full speed, rushing

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through our ranks, striking the horses of our Japanese guards with heavy sticks, and pursued by the whole body of them. I was now left with the few men of the British escort in the middle of Yedo, but continued on my road to the official residence of the Ministers; after a while we were rejoined by the Japanese guards, who returned breathless from their pursuit, but without having overtaken our assailants. I was told they were adherents of the Prince of Satsuma.

“On ordinary occasions, any member of the Legation who may walk or ride for exercise out of the limits of the Legation inclosure is surrounded by Japanese guards, who gather in the closest contact round him upon the approach of any two-sworded man; but should the procession of a Daimio be met while riding, they are reduced to the necessity, according to the usage of this country not yet overcome, of breaking into single file, and thus exposing to isolated attack from passing retainers the foreigner they may be guarding.

“I should add that the French Legation is in every respect in the same position as what I have above described to be that of her Majesty’s Legation, nor is there any difference in the case of the American or Dutch Missions, save in the particular that they have no guards of their own nations, but, on the other hand, have around them a still greater number of Japanese guards, many of whom occupy rooms within the Legation buildings, a proximity from which her Majesty’s Legation is grateful to be relieved by the assuring presence of our own countrymen.

“I have, &c.,

(Signed)

“EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.”



## CHAPTER XV.

1863.

Alarm of *Rônins*.—Arrival of Imperial Envoys to summon the Shôgun to Kiôto.—Consequent new Appointments and Punishments of favourers of the Bakufu.—Preponderance of the Sakô Party.—Gotenyama chosen as a site for Foreign Legations.—British Legation burnt when nearly finished.—Admiral Kuper responds to Colonel Neale's request to send a Squadron.

THE year 1862 had been closed with agitating rumours of an impending attack upon the settlement of Yokohama, and this feeling was not diminished in the mind of her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires when, on the 2nd of January, 1863, he was roused at midnight by a visit from a Commissioner of foreign affairs, who had been expressly sent down from Yedo with his retinue for the purpose of imparting certain information from the government. This functionary announced that details had been received of the designs of a band of lawless persons in the neighbourhood, whose first object was stated to be that of seeking an opportunity to assassinate the foreign Representatives. Precautionary measures were taken in consequence, patrols marched through the streets, and some forty well-armed residents formed themselves into a volun-

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January 2.  
Alarm of  
*rônins*.



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teer corps. But, a few days later (8th), another Commissioner of foreign affairs arrived from Yedo to say that the information recently imparted was found not to be accurate, and that there was no fear of any immediate danger.

Arrival of  
imperial  
Envoys to  
summon  
the shōgun  
to Kiōto.

The imperial Envoys, Sanjō and Ané-no-kōji, having arrived in Yedo at the latter end of January, 1863, notified to the shōgun the will of the Emperor that he should proceed to Kiōto in the spring, and assuming the command and leadership of all the clans, should marshal the forces of the Empire, and expel the foreigners without further delay. The shōgun and his ministers consented, and the Envoys departed on their return.

Consequent  
new ap-  
pointments  
and punish-  
ments of  
favourers  
of the  
bakufu.

The effects of their mission were at once manifested by great changes among the officials. Appointments and dismissals were made in great numbers, and many of those who had formerly enjoyed favour, as staunch adherents of the bakufu, were disgraced. The revenue of the actual Prince of Hikoné, successor to the regent Ii Kamon no Kami, was diminished, because of the conduct of his late father, which was considered to have been offensive to the Mikado, and a cause of discord among the people. Naitō Kii no Kami, Kuzé Yamato no Kami, and Andō Tsushima no Kami were also deprived of part of their revenues, and the two latter were condemned to confinement in their houses, and to resign their daimiates to their sons. In fact, those who were high in office during the palmy days of the late regent, and who assisted him whilst he wielded the whole power of the shōgunate, and encouraged friendly relations with the foreigners, were made to suffer, and thus retaliation was widely dealt for the arbitrary dismissals and punishments carried

out with such vigour by the regent against those concerned in the dispatch of the secret order to the ex-Prince of Mito in 1858. The shôgun even offered to descend one step in rank out of penitence for his shortcomings in administering the government, but this was not accepted.

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Thus the tables were turned, and, for the moment, the Sakô (closing of the ports) party gained the upper hand, the bakufu acknowledging its diminished authority by submitting to the orders of the Court in the matter of appointments and dismissals, and by promising that the shôgun should visit Kiôto.

Preponderance of the  
Sakô party

After the attack on the British legation in 1861, it became apparent that in the actual state of the relations between Japanese and foreigners, if the members of the different missions were to reside permanently in Yedo, some better provision must be made for their safety. With this object an agreement was entered into with the government that a piece of ground should be set apart for a site upon which five buildings might be erected for the use of the five legations. The spot was accordingly chosen. It was not far from the temple of Tozenji, the scene of the two attacks already described, and was outside the city of Yedo, according to its limits at that time. It consisted of a piece of table-land, on a height commanding the bay, and at a short distance from the water. It was called Gotenyama, the hill of the abode or palace. Tradition states that between the chronological periods of Keichô (1596—1604) and Genwa (1605—1623) there was a palace upon it, with a view over ploughed land. Later, shoots of cherry trees from the Yoshi mountain in the district of Washiu were planted, and there was a great profusion of white and pink blossoms, in

Gotenyama  
chosen as a  
site for  
foreign  
legations

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British  
legation  
nearly  
finished  
when ten  
Japanese  
attempt to  
enter it.

the spring. One of the shôguns, it is recorded, when he went a-hunting, tarried on Gotenyama, and in more modern times it was a place of recreation for the people. This was the spot which had been chosen for the future residence of the foreign Representatives, and the building destined for the British Representative was nearly ready. It had been erected, at the expense of the shôgun's government, of the best materials which the country could produce, constructed with infinite care and attention to details, and had cost, according to the estimates, a sum equivalent to £8000.

But the members of her Majesty's mission were destined never to occupy that residence. On the 16th of January, according to information officially received by Colonel Neale, ten armed Japanese presented themselves at the door of the legation-ground, entrance into which, as they were strangers, was refused by the guard. They then went away to a tea-house close at hand, and asked the owner whether the legation was inhabited, and, on being informed that it was not, one of them partly drew his sword, and threatened the keeper of the house, saying that what he saw (the sword) awaited him for deceiving them, and for stating what was not true. Four of their number then left, returned to the door of the legation-ground, and again demanded admittance; and upon refusal as before, attacked and cut to pieces the guard. They then made good their escape, and were said not to have been traced.

Appeal to  
Colonel  
Neale not  
to inhabit  
the resi-  
dence.

On the 28th of January, the Japanese ministers appealed to Colonel Neale to abandon the intention of inhabiting the residence at Gotenyama, and solicited him to select another site, requesting a definite answer before the 2nd of February, when a very high func-

tionary, the shôgun's guardian and Envoy (Hitotsûbashi), would proceed to Kiôto.

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In the long conversation which took place, the Japanese stated that two or three daimios had constantly and urgently represented to the Mikado that the presence of foreigners, and the habits and manners they had introduced, had occasioned much evil to Japan, and that the Mikado had been continually ordering the shôgun to cease all relations with foreigners, and to drive them out of the country; that his Majesty also complained that he had not been consulted, nor had his consent been previously obtained, in the conclusion of the treaties. The ministers then said that recently the Mikado had strongly urged one special point, viz. that the bakufu had acted very improperly in granting the site of Gotenyama as a residence for the foreign Representatives, and had directed that the project should not be carried out; that the shôgun must obey his Majesty's orders, and hence this mandate had occasioned the greatest embarrassment to the government, who had expended a sum equal to about forty thousand Mexican dollars in constructing the British legation. They therefore begged Colonel Neale to abandon the idea of residing there, and to choose a site elsewhere.

Her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires commented on the fact that no names were mentioned of daimios who had maligned foreigners to the Mikado, and thus induced this request.

The answer was that Shimadzu Saburô had gone to Kiôto, and informed the Emperor that he had been grossly insulted by foreigners, and had therefore directed them to be cut down; that his Majesty believed the story, and that, when the shôgun's govern-

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ment demanded the delivery of the murderers to them, Shimadzu Saburô had denied that any such assassination had been discovered or proved, whilst in reality the delinquents were concealed and sheltered by him; also that the Prince of Chôshiu was anxious to bring on a revolution, and himself become "Tycoon."

Colonel Neale refuses to give up the residence.

The result of the interview was that Colonel Neale declared his inability to entertain any question of abandoning Gotenyama as a residence. He remarked that the preliminary arrangements had been made before the departure of her Majesty's minister, who had been repeatedly consulted about the smallest details, and that the government had, up till then, never expressed the slightest dissatisfaction with respect to the site.

The building is burnt by incendiaries.

Four days later, on the 1st of February the building was burnt to the ground by a party of sworded Japanese, who employed trains of powder and other combustibles, which exploded simultaneously in all directions. The incendiaries were not taken, but some of them at least are known to have been Chôshiu men, and two, if I am rightly informed, subsequently held high and influential positions in the Imperial government after its restoration, and have long been distinguished for their friendly feelings towards the foreign "barbarians." One of them, who is still in office, has sat at my table in Yedo, and I have more than once felt a longing to inquire into the details of his incendiary exploit, but it is too soon to expect such disclosures from natives, and I should have gained nothing by my perhaps impertinent question. I well remember one of the most influential members of the Satsuma clan, now dead, being asked one of us, in the secretary's house at Yokohama, one time

Some were Chôshiu men.



having elapsed since the murder of Mr. Richardson, who really cut the Englishman down. The Japanese gentleman, who must have known, as he was in Shimadzu Saburô's train at the time, simply answered, as might well have been expected, "I have forgotten."

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Doubtless the burning of the building destined for the British legation on Gotenyama was considered a political necessity by these Chôshiu men, and whether the bakufu were cognizant of their design is hardly material. The Mikado's Envoys, in all probability, had communicated to the Yedo government an order from the Sovereign that the foreign Representatives should not be permitted to reside on Gotenyama, which was a sacred spot, and devoted to festivals for the people; and, inasmuch as all foreigners were to be driven out of the country in a few short months, it would not be worth while to complete the buildings.

The act probably consequent on an order from the Kiôto Envoys.

The following communication was subsequently made to Colonel Neale. It ignores the fact that the building was burnt by political incendiaries, and states what is not true, namely, that Colonel Neale had agreed to the construction of a residence on another spot.

Communication on the subject to Colonel Neale inaccurate.

*The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to  
Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.*

[Translation.]

"Herewith we make the following communication.

"When the British Legation at Gotenyama was almost completed, it unexpectedly caught fire, and was burned down to the ground, as you were lately informed. This caused us great sorrow, and we sympathise with you.



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“For our Government it is likewise a great pity, not only that such a large sum of money has been lost, but also that all the trouble in erecting (the building) has thus suddenly proved to have been fruitless.

“Although the name and the whereabouts of the criminals are unknown, the consequences of their stealing into the compound towards daybreak on the 13th (February 1) are made known in the enclosed document.

“Most probably this event must be ascribed to the envy of those persons who were displeased that the foreign Legations were to be erected on the place of recreation to which the name of Gotenyama had been given, as you are well aware of.

“Thus it is very doubtful whether one will be able to ensure safety there, if the building were to be erected on the same spot.

“We therefore propose to you through one of the officials to stop the work of the present Legation, and to enter into negotiations for another spot. And you have agreed to this, taking into consideration the present state of affairs in Japan, for which we are much obliged.

“We also communicate that the French and American Ministers have consented to this.

“With respect and consideration.

“25th of 12th month of 3rd year of Bunkiu (February 13, 1863).

(Signed)

“MIDZUNO IDZUMI NO KAMI.

“ITAKURA SUWÔ NO KAMI.”

*Communication of the Officials in charge of the new  
Legation at Gotenyama, when it was destroyed  
by fire.* CHAP.  
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[Translation.]

“This morning, in the middle of Ushi (about two o’clock in the night), we went the rounds, but saw nothing suspicious. After our return the Legation began to burn, it having the appearance as if it had been set fire to with powder, and the eastern side likewise began to burn.

“Whilst it was immediately being made known at the temporary office, the Legation was in one blaze of fire.

“At the same time shots were heard outside the gate to the southward.

“Although we at once sent in every direction, no suspicious persons were found.

“But one of the posts of the wooden fence near the drawbridge was cut through, and the articles as mentioned in the enclosed paper were left there.

“We send in this communication.

“13th of 12th month (February 1).

“One saw, one bag containing six candles, one match 3 feet 7 inches long, one pair of sandals, one pair of wooden clogs, four lucifers, and two flints. Two packets of powder were left under the stable near the great gate.”

Colonel Neale was now so impressed that a crisis was at hand, that he addressed a despatch to Rear-Admiral Kuper, stating his conviction that a considerable demonstration of naval force in the vicinity of Yokohama and Yedo would be most opportune, and

Colonel  
Neale  
requests  
Admiral  
Kuper's  
presence in  
force.

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would conduce to results highly advantageous to British interests. The presence of such a force, whose mission would be to insure the maintenance of treaty rights, and enable British subjects engaged in a prosperous and increasing trade to remain undisturbed, at least within their settlements, would, Colonel Neale had every reason to believe, at the same time afford a powerful naval support to the shôgun's government in its well-disposed, but wavering and timid policy in regard to foreign intercourse. He therefore hoped that the Admiral would be able to afford him the effectual support of his own presence at Yokohama and Yeddo with such a force as would constitute an unmistakable demonstration, and would be calculated to realize the results which he confidently anticipated.

Arrival of  
Admiral  
Kuper with  
a squadron.

In consequence of this despatch, and of instructions from the Admiralty, Rear-Admiral Kuper left Hong Kong, and arrived at Yokohama in the "Euryalus" on the 22nd of March. In company with the flag-ship were the "Rattler" and the "Racehorse." The "Centaur" and the gun-boat "Kestrel" were already in the port. Two days subsequently the "Argus" arrived, to be followed by other available vessels on the China station.

## CHAPTER XVI.

1863.

Arrival of Daimios, &c., at Kiôto.—Its gay aspect.—Approaching departure of Shôgun announced to Colonel Neale.—His Notes on the Richardson affair.—Perplexity of Bakufu.—Colonel Neale consents to delay the Expedition.—Imperial Decree to Daimios respecting expulsion of Foreigners.—Arrival of Shôgun at Kiôto.—His first visit to Court, and his Presents.

MEANWHILE the daimios from the east and west kept arriving in Kiôto, so that there were some seventy by the spring of the year, and the number of the shôgun's vassals was also very considerable. As none of these nobles had residences in the Capital, they hired temples for temporary head-quarters, and the clans bought houses in the city, and built residences and barracks. The streets are described as being crowded with *samurai* on foot and on horseback; pleasure and sight-seeing became the order of the day, and the Capital flourished as it never had in any former reign.

On the 1st of March the shôgun's guardian, Hitotsûbashi, arrived at Kiôto in pursuance of an order from the Court, and took up his abode there. The low-class two-sworded men had for some time been anxiously looking out for him, and had talked much among themselves about the nearness of the time when

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Arrival of  
daimios  
and  
shôgun's  
vassals at  
Kiôto.

Arrival of  
Hitotsû-  
bashi.

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the barbarians were to be driven out. But when they heard that the shôgun himself was shortly to appear at the Capital, and that the date for the great exploit would not be fixed till then, they felt disappointed and began to get turbulent. Several murders were perpetrated by them about this time.

The  
shôgun's  
approach-  
ing de-  
parture  
announced  
to Colonel  
Neale.

On the 29th of March the rôjiu informed Colonel Neale that the shôgun was to leave for Kiôto on the 31st. The British Representative having now received instructions from Earl Russell, at once replied that in two or three days it would be his duty to present a note embodying the demands which her Majesty's government had directed him to make for outrages committed upon her subjects, and for which no redress had been obtained; that the peremptory and explicit nature of those demands would necessitate the most serious deliberation and prompt attention of the shôgun's government within a restricted period of time; and that these serious communications could not be deferred by the announcement at the last moment of the departure of the shôgun.

Colonel Neale concluded in the following words:—  
“It is equally my duty to request that the purport of my present communication be brought immediately to the knowledge of the Tycoon, and I am bound to add that whatever regrettable consequences may result from such communication being withheld, the responsibility attending them will rest with your Excellencies and the government of Japan.”

The  
shôgun's  
journey  
cannot be  
put off.

The ministers replied that the shôgun's journey could not be put off, and after expressing their fears that they would not be able to answer the promised note, or settle the business as speedily as desired, or within the time to be specified, they declared that they

had made known to the shôgun the contents of the former communication.

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On the 6th of April the British Chargé d'affaires sent in the following note, accompanying it with the supplementary note of the same date, drawing the immediate attention of the ministers to two points, viz. the number of days fixed for the reply, and his suggestion that the government should depute an officer of rank to accompany the ships of war which would convey the demands he was instructed to make upon the Prince of Satsuma.

Formal  
notes from  
Colonel  
Neale.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers  
for Foreign Affairs.*

“The Undersigned, her Britannic Majesty’s Chargé d’Affaires, has received the explicit instructions of his Government to demand reparation from the Japanese Government for the murder and outrages committed upon British subjects on the 14th of September last, on the tôkaidô, near Kanagawa, by the retainers of the Prince of Satsuma.

“The circumstances attending this unprovoked and savage assault, as related by the survivors, and as set forth by the Undersigned in his several communications, written and verbal, with the Japanese Ministers, have never been controverted, attempted to be palliated, or denied.

“The sentiments of indignation with which her Majesty’s Government have learnt the particulars of this outrage are expressed in the following words addressed to the Undersigned by her Britannic Majesty’s Minister for Foreign Affairs:—

““The barbarous murder of Mr. Richardson, and the murderous assault on two gentlemen and a lady



who were in his company, have inspired her Majesty's Government with great and just indignation. It was to be hoped that the instant trial and condign punishment of the murderers, together with an offer of further reparation, would have shown on the part of the Japanese Government a due sense of the magnitude of the offence which had been committed; but the letter of the Japanese Ministers of Foreign Affairs, dated the 16th of September, dispels this hope. In a tone of helplessness or evasion they say, that in the answer that Saburô gave to their officer there is something very improper, and that they will have the whole state of the case more accurately inquired into, and inform you of the result.'

" 'There could have been no doubt in the minds of the Ministers of Japan that a barbarous murder had been committed—no doubt that other murders had at the same time been attempted, and the only course which a Government, sensible of its duties, and able to perform them, could have pursued, was to arrest, try, convict, and execute the murderers; but even the first step of this process does not seem to have been taken.'

"Such are the observations of her Britannic Majesty's Government, which, after mature consideration of the anomalous political rule which prevails in Japan, has instructed the Undersigned to make to the Japanese Government through your Excellencies a peremptory demand for immediate and full redress for the violence and outrage committed.

"The reparation which the Undersigned is thus instructed to demand for this fresh outrage will be specially set forth at the close of this note.

"In the meanwhile, under instructions from his Government, the Undersigned made verbally, and in

writing, a formal demand, so far back as the 4th of December, 1862, on the Japanese Ministers for redress and compensation for the previous outrage on her Britannic Majesty's Legation on the 26th of June last, and which consisted in the payment of £10,000 sterling, for the benefit of the families of the two British guards murdered on that occasion at the very bedroom door of the Undersigned, her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires.

"Nine months have now elapsed since the perpetration of that deed, and four months since the demand for compensation was communicated by the Undersigned to the Japanese Ministers; but it has been evaded, and the outrage remains still unrequited. It is now, again, peremptorily demanded.

"These two flagrant acts, injurious to the dignity of the British flag, and accompanied with all the sensation and horror which they occasioned among civilized nations, have nevertheless called forth no serious offer of redress in any degree proportionate to the enormity of the crimes committed, which, moreover, carried with them in a national point of view an insult and indignity which the Japanese Government well knows her Majesty's Government would not suffer to remain without atonement.

"Whatever may be the real situation of the Government of the Tycoon in respect to its power of punishing the acts of hostile daimios and their retainers, the Tycoon's Ministers under the circumstances referred to have betrayed a culpable apathy, disregard, and indifference in their communications with the Undersigned regarding these outrages, for which the Tycoon's Government is now most justly called upon to afford ample reparation.

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“Procrastination and evasion attained by lengthened arguments as to unimportant details, attempted negotiations as to the amount to be awarded as compensation, and more recently an absolute silence on the part of the Japanese Government in respect to both these unrequited grievances, has been the course pursued by your Excellencies, regardless of the friendly warnings and remonstrances of the Undersigned. Acting moreover under evil counsels, the Japanese Government has adopted a passive, reserved, and unfriendly policy with the British Representative, not only in regard to these outrages, but in all matters of interest to British subjects.

“This unjustifiable course of action has been crowned with the destruction, by political incendiaries, of the new British Legation-residence at Gotenyama.

“On the other hand, the Government of her Britannic Majesty, viewing with indulgence the obstacles and obstructions opposed to the full development of British commercial enterprise by the Japanese Government, and judging them to emanate from the great political embarrassments of this country, was the first to concede to the wishes of his Majesty the Tycoon, conveyed through his Envoys, and to consent conditionally to the postponement in the opening of Ôzaka and other ports, subsequently assented to by other European Treaty Powers, and to be assented to by the Government of the United States, only in consideration of counter-concessions which the Government of Great Britain has not sought to exact.

“The Tycoon’s Envoys have returned and rendered an account of their mission to the Japanese Government in relation to the foregoing negotiations, and the Undersigned has just communicated to his Government

the thanks lately expressed to him in writing by your Excellencies on behalf of the Tycoon and Government of Japan, for the attentions and cordial reception bestowed upon those Envoys by the Sovereign, Government, and people of Great Britain; a record standing in painful contrast with the unfriendly demeanour of the Japanese Ministers towards the Representatives and subjects of her Majesty in this country.

“The Undersigned, nevertheless, unhesitatingly proclaims, and challenges the Japanese Government to disprove the fact, that the subjects of no nation with which Japan is in relation have given less cause for ill-will on the part of the Japanese authorities than the authorities and subjects of the great British nation, which the Japanese Government, regardless of its duty to the interests of the Tycoon and his dynasty, has so easily been persuaded to treat with distrust and disregard.

“By a happy and rare good fortune, which could not reasonably have been expected, during the period that British subjects, of all classes, have resided in Japan, and thousands of British sailors have frequented its open ports, no noticeable instance of violence against Japanese has been complained of regarding one of them, and yet in numbers they greatly exceed all other foreign residents in Japan.

“Such has been the anxious care of the British authorities to engage their countrymen to adopt the conduct of friendship and conciliation, and to accommodate themselves to the difficult situation of the Government of this country.

“While the good sense and forbearance of the British residents have ensured these unprecedented and happy results, those same British subjects do not

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and cannot forget that few nations of the world are as powerful, and none more determined than their own, to demand and obtain reparation for unprovoked outrages committed on its subjects.

“The Undersigned is bound to add that four years of intercourse between the subjects of Great Britain and Japan have proved that the Japanese people are friendly and well-disposed, having no cause arising out of habits or prejudices to entertain hostile or fanatical feelings towards foreigners. The authorities and official class of this nation, from the Ministers and Daimios to the yaconins, have alone evinced a culpable jealousy and distrust towards foreigners, which threaten to endanger the interests and tranquillity of the peaceful inhabitants of this country.

“Notwithstanding the amicable and conciliatory dispositions of the British Government, and the corresponding conduct of the British Representatives in Japan in their relations with the Tycoon’s Government, emanating from a sincere desire to avert, in the interests of peace and commerce, all cause of absolute dissension, the Japanese Government would on its part appear, under evil advice and influence, to have resolved to try the risk of withholding reparation for absolute outrages, and to brave the inevitable consequences of its unfriendly and distrustful demeanour towards the British Government and nation.

“In explanation of this uncalled-for and ill-advised conduct, the Undersigned is willing to hope that the Tycoon and Government of Japan are not as yet adequately aware of the power and determination of Great Britain to enforce reparation for unprovoked grievances, even in this distant and extreme region of the world.



“The Undersigned, in now approaching the specific reparation which is required from the Japanese Government, and which will not be deviated from, modified, or discussed, desires solemnly and earnestly to explain and impress upon your Excellencies as responsible servants of the Tycoon, for the information of his Majesty and the Supreme Council of this Empire, that there is a serious difference between open hostilities, or in other words war, as declared between nations, and the adoption of such enforced measures of coercion as are necessary to ensure acquiescence to moderate demands should they be indiscreetly refused or attempted to be evaded.

“No loss or ruin to Japan is involved by the preliminary measures which are at present contemplated to awaken the Japanese Government to a due sense of its responsibilities, should it refuse or evade to comply with the reparation now peremptorily demanded; but a persistence in such refusal must necessarily lead to a very different and disastrous situation of affairs.

“The reparation now demanded for the murders and murderous assaults committed upon British subjects has been affixed by her Majesty’s Government with a considerate regard for the difficult situation of the Japanese Government and its political embarrassment. But the penalty imposed, and the measure of compensation demanded for the sufferers and their families, now computed in thousands, will, if the Japanese Government continue to be ill-advised, inevitably expand into millions, to indemnify the costs of armaments which must be employed by Great Britain, should all serious warnings fail to ensure the redress imperatively demanded for these unprovoked and flagrant outrages.



“Notwithstanding the evil designs of interested counsellors, the intelligent Ministers of the Tycoon are already aware that the sincere desire of Great Britain is to preserve peaceful relations of friendship and commerce with Japan; but it is of vital interest to Japan that the Tycoon’s Government should be guided in its councils by the knowledge that Great Britain will not tolerate even a passive defiance of its power, or refusal of its just demands.

“If, however, the Ministers of the Tycoon now in office, setting aside all considerations of ordinary prudence, and devoting themselves to devices calculated to gain time, cause Japan to drift into hostilities with a great power with which it is utterly unable to cope, upon those ministers will fall the heavy responsibility of all the calamities which may ensue.

“Having thus discharged his duty and conscience by the earnest remarks which precede, the Undersigned has the honour to state to your Excellencies that he is instructed to make the following explicit and peremptory demands upon the Japanese Government:—

“First. An ample and formal apology for the offence of permitting a murderous attack on British subjects passing on a road open by treaty to them.

“Secondly. The payment of £100,000 as a penalty on Japan for this offence.

“The mode, manner, and form of the apology will be regulated in conferences between the Undersigned and Commissioners appointed by the Japanese Government, as well as the mode and manner of payment of the money réparation demanded.

“Twenty days from this date is assigned to the Japanese Government for its reply, which must be of a categorical character, either consenting to or rejecting the demands here made.

“At the expiration of the twenty days assigned for the reply of the Japanese Government, should that reply either be a rejection or evasion, or otherwise than a positive acceptance of the reparation demanded, the British Admiral now assembled here with a considerable force will, within twenty-four hours after the receipt of such refusal of these demands, or in the event of no reply whatever being received at the expiration of that period from the Japanese Government, proceed to enter upon such measures as may be necessary to secure the reparation demanded.

“The conduct of these measures will thenceforth necessarily be in the hands of the Admiral commanding-in-chief her Majesty’s Naval Forces.

“The Undersigned for his own part is bound to remind the Japanese Ministers that upon the occurrence of the outrage on the 14th of September, in his extreme desire to leave to the Japanese Government the legitimate mode of affording redress, he exercised a discretion, since entirely approved of by her Majesty’s Government, but which obliged him at the same time to bear the burden of much obloquy on the part of the foreign residents of Yokohama.

“The Undersigned may even now apprise the Japanese Government that, so strong is his desire, while carrying out the full tenor of his instructions, to avoid the infliction of loss or suffering upon the unoffending inhabitants of Japan, that he will so express his views to the Admiral ; but resistance or attempted evasion of the operations of coercion which may be rendered necessary will evidently render all such considerations impracticable.

“It becomes, therefore, the imperative duty of the Undersigned earnestly to warn the Japanese Ministers

that the slightest molestation, injury, or violence attempted to be offered by the Japanese authorities, the adherents of Daimios, or others, to the persons or property of British subjects at the ports open to foreigners during the continuance of the preliminary measures, should they be rendered necessary, will alter the whole nature of the operations, and result in the immediate exercise of serious hostilities, the extent, duration, and consequences of which cannot be foreseen; but the whole weight and responsibilities of which will rest with the Japanese Government and its advisers. The present demands of the British Government are sufficiently defined and explicit, as are also the first consequences of a refusal to accede to them.

“The Undersigned having acquitted himself of his duties in thus earnestly stating and explaining to the Tycoon’s Government what is peremptorily required at its hands, and the penalties which must inevitably attend a non-compliance with the same, proceeds to acquaint your Excellencies with the further measures which, under instructions from her Majesty’s Government, will be adopted to enforce a far more important portion of the reparation rendered necessary, and required for the barbarous murder of the 14th of September, from the Prince of Satsuma, by whose adherents that deed was perpetrated.

“The Japanese Ministers have written, and have stated to the Undersigned on various occasions, and have openly avowed to the Ministers of other Foreign States, that the Japanese Government could not pursue or arrest malefactors within the domains of the Daimio Prince Satsuma. This is no reason why the adherents of this Prince, who were the actual murderers, should escape condign punishment; and the British Govern-

ment, taking into mature consideration the difficulties which thus obstruct the Tycoon's Government, is itself constrained to demand satisfaction and redress from the Prince of Satsuma.

"A naval force will, therefore, be directed to proceed to a port appertaining to the Prince of Satsuma, where will be demanded from him:—

"1. The immediate trial and capital execution, in the presence of one or more of her Majesty's naval officers, of the chief perpetrators of the murder of Mr. Richardson, and of the murderous assault upon the lady and gentlemen who accompanied him.

"2. The payment of £25,000 sterling, to be distributed to the relatives of the murdered man and to those who escaped the swords of the assassins on that occasion.

"In the event of the refusal, delay, or evasion of the Prince of Satsuma to carry these demands into immediate effect, such measures of coercion will immediately be adopted against him as the Admiral may judge best calculated to obtain the reparation demanded.

"The Undersigned, out of courtesy and high consideration for the Tycoon's Government, makes to it the above communication regarding the course to be adopted with the Prince of Satsuma; considering also that the Government of the Tycoon may deem it expedient in the interests of Japan to advise the Prince of Satsuma to comply at once with the demands of the British Government, necessitated by the barbarous outrage committed by his retainers, at the head of whom was his father, Shimadzu Saburô, upon an unoffending British subject. With this object, a high officer might be dispatched by the Japanese Govern-

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ment charged with averting the consequences of any obstinate or ill-advised conduct on the part of the Prince of Satsuma, in ignorance of the power and determination of the British nation to enforce redress for unprovoked injuries.

“The Undersigned, &c.,

(Signed) “EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

“*Yokohama, April 6, 1863.*”

*Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers  
for Foreign Affairs.*

“*Yokohama, April 6, 1863.*

“The accompanying note will be delivered to your Excellencies by Mr. Eusden, Japanese Secretary of this Legation, through the Governor of Foreign Affairs whom you may appoint to receive it.

“As you cannot become immediately acquainted with all its contents, it becomes urgently necessary that I should request your Excellencies’ first attention to two points:—

“1. That desirous of acting with the most considerate regard for the delay attendant upon the communication you may desire to make to his Majesty the Tycoon at Kiôto, and the delay likewise attendant upon translation, ample time being also allotted for mature reflection, I have announced to you that I will await for a period of twenty days from this date the reply of the Japanese Government to the communication which I now have the honour to make in the note referred to.

“But I have earnestly to inform your Excellencies that the instructions which both the Admiral commanding-in-chief and myself have received will render it

impossible for us to prolong that period by a single day or hour.

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"2. I have suggested in my note the expediency and advantage of the Tycoon's Government charging a high officer to accompany the British ships-of-war which will convey the demands I am instructed to make from the Prince of Satsuma. To this point I have to request a speedy reply, as it is evident my communication to the Prince cannot be delayed during the above specified period of twenty days. Mr. Eusden will await at Yedo, in the vessel which conveys him, during two days the decision of the Japanese Government respecting this latter point.

"The ships destined to proceed to Kiushiu will then immediately leave.

"With respect and consideration.

(Signed) "EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE."

These two notes were entrusted to Mr. Eusden, the Japanese secretary of legation, who proceeded to Yedo on the day of their date in the gunboat "Havoc," and immediately delivered them into the hands of an official of the foreign office. On the 9th Mr. Eusden returned with an evasive reply from the ministers, in which they stated that they would at once forward a report on the subject to the shôgun, and they begged that the men-of-war might not be sent to Satsuma, as in the present state of affairs it was to be feared that an unexpected calamity and still greater confusion might then arise, and that the law of their Empire might be injured.

Delivered  
by Mr.  
Eusden at  
Yedo.

Evasive  
reply  
of bakufu.

In fact, as the Japanese chronicler says, the ministers were mightily perplexed. At the very moment they received this ultimatum from the English their



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own countrymen were urging them to expel the foreigners. "Here is another, and a worse national calamity," said the officials. "If we let the English squadron go to the Bay of Satsuma, something calamitous will be sure to ensue. The best thing we can do will be to pacify the English barbarians." Hence the above answer was returned.

"But the barbarians," he continues, "seeing the alarm of the bakufu officials, abounded in falsehood and swagger. So, as it seemed that the demands of the barbarians were not to be easily got rid of, and that at any moment they might move their war vessels against us and commence hostilities, the shôgunate made diligent preparations to defend itself; and the defences of the home provinces being very slight, Ii Kamon no Kami was ordered to guard the Bay of Ôzaka."

Reasons  
which  
induce  
Colonel  
Neale to  
delay the  
expedition.

On receipt of the reply of the ministers, Colonel Neale took its arguments into serious consideration. He felt that there might be truth in their observations that confusion would be created by sudden and separate negotiations with Satsuma at this crisis; he was also informed that the prince was not at Kagoshima, but at Kiôto, and he was aware that Admiral Kuper would prefer awaiting the arrival of the remaining ships of his squadron before detaching a portion to Kagoshima, a distant point from the rendezvous at Yokohama, and the defences and navigation of which were imperfectly known. He therefore felt inclined to put off the expedition till he could see his way more clearly, but at the same time, in order to leave the Japanese ministers in no doubt as to his intentions, he addressed to them a note dated the 11th, requesting to know how soon his note of the 6th would be laid

Correspondence ending in a delay of 15 days.

before the shôgun and council, and stating that according to the delay or promptness with which the latter were made aware of that serious communication (which also contained the demands on the Prince of Satsuma) his further immediate action would be guided.

Two of the ministers who were still in Yedo answered with unusual promptness, on the following day, that Colonel Neale's note would probably reach the shôgun on the 12th or 13th instant. They were however much perplexed, and made an urgent appeal to the American minister to obtain a further extension of time from the British Chargé d'affaires. A note followed, requesting a delay of thirty days from the 22nd of April, when it was said the shôgun would have returned to Yedo, and M. Duchesne de Bellecourt was also asked to use his good offices in the matter with his English colleague. Finally, after a conference with the vice minister of the second council, Colonel Neale agreed to a delay of fifteen days from the 27th instant, in order that the shôgun's ministers at Kiôto might be communicated with, and an answer received from them, irrespective of the return of that ruler to Yedo.

The following are the notes :—

*The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.*

[Translation.]

“ WE send you the following communication.

“After the translation of your despatch dated April 6, 1863, we sent it by an express courier to our colleagues, who were in attendance on his Majesty the Tycoon on his journey, as we lately communicated to

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you. They then immediately laid it before his Majesty the Tycoon, and have sent us a written reply, which we have just received.

“It is a law of our Empire that (matters of importance) must first be discussed at a conference of the Tycoon’s guardian, the Regent, and the Council of State, and then a decision is taken, and that it is not to be settled any other way; besides, it is very inconvenient to take any decision, owing to the residence elsewhere on the journey. But in order not to lose too much time, and to facilitate our doing in a proper manner what you have communicated, (it is desirable) the number of days should be increased from what was originally proposed, and if from this date thirty days (were allowed to) elapse the Tycoon would be back in his castle. It has subsequently been communicated to us that his Majesty the Tycoon undoubtedly believes that such an unavoidable delay of days will be acceptable to the British Government, which proposition we now make to you, and we request most earnestly that you will accede to it.

“With respect and consideration.

“4th of 3rd month of 3rd year of Bunkiu (21st April, 1863).

(Signed) “MATSUDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.

“INOUYÉ KAWACHI NO KAMI.”

*Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers  
for Foreign Affairs.*

“Yokohama, April 24, 1863.

“I HAVE received the communication, dated the 21st instant, made to me by your Excellencies under direction of the Tycoon’s Ministers, asking for an

extension of the term accorded for the definite reply of the Japanese Government to the demands which the British Government has made upon it.

“You state you have been instructed to ask for an additional term of thirty days, dating from the 22nd instant.

“The Tycoon’s Government, acting with its usual regrettable want of frankness and confidence, has afforded me no real or sufficient reasons for this demand; nor has your Envoy Takémoto afforded any better reasons to the Minister Plenipotentiary of France, to whom he has addressed himself to intercede and exercise his just influence with me to obtain this extension of the term.

“In so serious a crisis, of which his Majesty the Tycoon was fully aware even before his departure from Yedo, no Government has been left at Yedo invested with powers even to offer guarantees or interchange assurances which might become imperatively necessary.

“No guarantee exists that his Majesty the Tycoon will not defer his return to Yedo for five months, the period originally fixed, and even when that event takes place, your Excellencies and your Envoy Takémoto speak of arrangements and discussion being entered upon respecting the categorical and unchangeable demands made after all discussions had failed, and all reparation had been withheld during many months.

“Your Excellencies’ instructions have for their evident object to gain time by any excuses or arguments which may present themselves. It is my duty, on the other hand, to see that the demands made by her Britannic Majesty’s Government are not trifled with.

“The circumstance of the absence of his Majesty the Tycoon from Yedo, and the fact of his ministers not having assembled round his Majesty at Miako till the 20th instant, may engage the consideration of her Majesty’s Government when I report these facts; but I reject as utterly unacceptable your reasons for delay until the return of his Majesty to Yedo.

“To remove every shadow of doubt of my desire not to precipitate a crisis in presence of an accidental obstacle, such as your being invested with no powers to furnish me with a reply to my note of the 6th instant at the expiration of the term allotted, I now inform your Excellencies of the decision to which I have come after anxious consideration. It is as follows: Before engaging the Admiral commanding her Majesty’s Naval Forces in these seas, and now with a squadron at Yokohama, to defer the adoption of coercive measures after the 26th instant, in consequence of the non-settlement of demands, I will now, in consequence of your strong appeal in writing to myself, and indirectly to my colleague the Minister of France, await the time absolutely required once more to communicate with, and receive an answer from, the Tycoon’s Ministers at Miako.

“I assign an ample period for the accomplishment of this purpose by according fifteen days, dating from the 27th instant inclusive, whether your communication takes place by land or by sea.

“But I beg you seriously to observe that the reply which I require to enable me to withhold immediate measures of coercion at the expiration of the new term must be of a character to remove all doubt as to the assent of the Tycoon’s Government to the demands made upon it.

“No further arguments for delay can be received by me. The Tycoon’s Government will be considered as having refused the demands, and coercive measures will be entered upon.”

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“If at such a moment the Ministers at Yedo are still invested with no powers of meeting so critical a contingency beyond those of seeking for further delay, the Tycoon’s Government is alone responsible for the consequences attending such a situation of affairs.

“It is not the intention to molest the peaceable Japanese inhabitants on shore at Yokohama, or at the other ports open to foreign trade in Japan, unless danger is threatened to them ; but the British fleet will at once appear in other parts of Japan, where its presence may be less agreeable to the interests of the Tycoon and his Government.

“The demands to be made upon the Prince of Satsuma are apart from those to which this despatch relates. I reserve to myself the intention to carry into effect that portion of my instructions at any moment at which it may be convenient to do so, unless in the mean time the Tycoon’s Government itself satisfies those demands, the nature of which has been made known to it.

(Signed) “EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.”

Meanwhile, at Kiôto men’s minds were disturbed, the lower class of *samurai* were constantly demanding that the date for the expulsion of the foreigners should be fixed once for all, and several nobles of the Court and several daimios went to Hitotsûbashi, and impressed upon him the gravity of the crisis. He, however, put them off, begging them to keep matters quiet until the shôgun had arrived. This event was

Agitation  
at Kiôto.



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looked forward to with great interest, for since the visits in 1624 of Hidétada, and in 1634 of Iyémitsū (the second and third of the Tokugawa dynasty), no shōgun had entered Kiōto.

April 8.  
Imperial  
decree  
respecting  
expulsion  
of foreign-  
ers.

On the 8th of April all the daimios then resident in Kiōto were called to the imperial Court, and the following decree was read out to them :—"At the present moment the ugly barbarians are watching the Empire with greedy eye, and the state of affairs is highly critical. Should the national honour receive a stain or the sacred treasures be damaged, his Majesty would consider himself wanting in the performance of the obligations which he owes to his divine ancestors, and attribute everything to his own want of virtue. His Majesty therefore considers that you ought, in obedience to his wish of repelling the barbarians, and in a spirit of resolute royalty and courage, to perform the exploit of sweeping them away, and thus preserve the national polity intact. His Majesty believes that if the date for the expulsion of the barbarians is fixed, the inhabitants of the whole country will exhaust their efforts and vie with each other in loyalty and fidelity, and he is gratified to think that those who have felt like patriots for the last few years will do all they can to requite the benefits they have received from their native land. As he intends to lend his wise ear to the words of even low-class two-sworded men and people of the baser class, he desires me to tell you, that you may give your opinions to those charged with the superintendence of the Gakushiu-in \* without the slightest

\* A building set apart by the Court for meetings of the *samurai* affected to its party. It was no doubt a sort of central committee-room for getting up and promoting the agitation in

hesitation." All of them received this expression of his Majesty's will with respect, and withdrew.

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The shōgun entered Kiōto on the 21st of April, and took up his abode there at his castle of Nijō. On the 24th he paid his first visit to the palace. The

Arrival of  
shōgun at  
Kiōto, and  
visit to the  
palace.

rich presents made on this occasion were as follows :—

The shōgun offered to the Mikado a sword of the finest temper, a horse, a hundred pieces of gold, a thousand pieces of silver, a picture, a pair of standard screens, an incense burner of blue earthenware, paper and a writing box, a writing table, a pair of folding screens, fifty pieces of blue silk, and a thousand pieces of brocade. To the princes of the blood he presented a sabre of the finest temper, the price of a horse, five hundred pieces of silver,\* twenty pieces of gold, a set of book shelves, a flower vase, fifty rolls of Yamato brocade, and five hundred bundles of cotton ; to the *Jungo* † five hundred pieces of silver, thirty rolls of crape, twenty pieces of gold, fifty rolls of flowered silk, a small screen, a set of incense things and a hand-warmer ; to the Princess Toshi three hundred pieces of silver, twenty rolls of fine satin, ten pieces of gold, thirty rolls of flowered silk, a writing desk, a clove furnace, and fifty pounds' weight of scarlet thread. Kazu Miya and Tensho-in ‡ also sent presents to the princes of the blood, to the *Jungo*, and to the Princess

Presents.

favour of the Mikado's return to power and the expulsion of the foreigners.—E. S.

\* A piece of silver is worth about a *bu* and a half ; the piece of gold here meant is the *oban*, worth £18 odd. A *bu* was formerly worth about fourteen pence.

† Themorganatic wife of the Emperor. He may have twelve, but the number has seldom been filled up in modern times.—E. S.

‡ The widow of the Shōgun Iyēsada, eldest sister of the present Prince of Satsuma.—E. S.

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Toshi. Besides this, presents of silver were made to the Emperor's servants and to his nurse. So the shôgun worshipped the dragon-countenance, and after receiving a cup from the hands of his Majesty retired about six in the evening. On this occasion, following the precedent created by Iyémitsû when he went up to the capital, he distributed gold to the townspeople, to the amount of 5000 strings of silver; and the whole populace, moistened in the bath of his mercy and goodness, were greatly pleased and gratified.

*Note.*—This sum of money amounted to 63,000 and odd ounces of gold. The men receiving pay in the service of nobles of the Court and territorial princes resident in Kiôto were excepted from participating in it, and the share of each household was about an ounce and a quarter of gold.

## CHAPTER XVII.

1863.

Exodus of Natives from Yokohama.—More Conferences.—Burning of United States' Legation at Yedo.—Mr. Pruyn, and later the Americans at Kanagawa, are obliged to retire to Yokohama.—Yedo and Kanagawa are rid of Foreigners.—Steps for confining Foreigners to the Yokohama Settlement.—Affairs at Kiôto.—A day fixed for the Expulsion of Foreigners.—Negotiations for Payment of British Indemnities.—They are eventually paid.—Note from Ogasawara that the open Ports are to be closed.—Apology from Bakufu for the two Outrages on British subjects in 1862.—Hitotsûbashi reports to Kiôto that Foreigners cannot be Expelled.—Assassination of Anéno-kôji.

AT Yokohama, in the beginning of May, there was a great exodus of the native population. This was explained by the governor to have arisen from the people having become aware of the ultimatum of the British *Chargé d'affaires*, and being in consequence greatly terrified and excited. They had asked advice, and had been told to go or stay as they thought best. The consuls protested against such advice being given, as it was calculated to create alarm, and as such an exodus was highly prejudicial to the permanent interests of all concerned. In any event, whatever steps might be taken by the British naval force, they argued that the settlement would be neutral.

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from  
YokohamaProtest of  
consuls.

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Further  
conferences,  
further  
delay.

Further conferences ensued between Colonel Neale and the Japanese ministers, the latter being desirous of again obtaining a prolongation of the term for a definite reply to the English demands. On being informed that the shōgun was expected back in Yedo on the 24th of May (the day, in fact, according to the *Genji yumé monogatari*, of his above-mentioned audience of the Emperor), Colonel Neale and M. de Bellecourt, who was cordially co-operating with his colleague, replied in an assuring spirit to the Japanese officials, stating that coercive measures would not be precipitated, if it should turn out that the shōgun was really about to arrive at Yedo.

But when there were no tidings of his Highness's approaching return, and the Japanese ministers were obliged to acknowledge that his absence would last some time longer, Colonel Neale addressed to them a further note, dated the 18th of May. In this he expressed his great disappointment and regret at the unexpected change in the shōgun's intentions, but at the same time announced his attention to await with much anxiety, the important and definite instructions which he considered might reasonably be expected by the Yedo government from the shōgun at Kiōto in regard to foreign affairs.

Burning of  
U. S.  
legation.

The next event which took place was the burning of the American legation at Yedo, on the 24th of May, at two a.m. The bakufu had long resorted to every means of persuasion to induce the Envoy, Mr. Pruyn, to reside at Yokohama, and they had even offered to indemnify the American legation for the inconvenience and expense which might be occasioned by its removal.

The fire originated in the kitchen, or in a small

building adjoining, and in fifteen minutes from the time of its discovery, so completely enveloped the entire buildings as only to allow time to save the public archives. Mr. Pruyn, while admitting that there were grounds for attributing the act to political incendiaries, still was anxious to accept the assurance of the government that the fire was accidental. He remained in Yedo in order to make arrangements for a temporary residence in the large temple within the enclosure, which was not destroyed, when suddenly the Japanese authorities resorted to what may be put down as an act of terrorism. According to Colonel Neale's information, whilst Mr. Pruyn was at dinner on the 31st of May, an official of rank came in breathless haste to urge his instant departure, as his life could not be guaranteed for an hour, and he therefore embarked for Yokohama at once. He himself wrote officially to his colleagues that he was induced to leave on receiving notice of the discovery of an organization to attack him and the guard the same night; that he was further informed that an additional force had been sent for his protection, but that in the event of a night attack, some accident might happen to him, and that the additional argument was strongly urged that by his immediate removal the government would be relieved from apprehension for his safety, and would be enabled to act with more vigour against the conspirators, whom they were at the very time causing to be surrounded.

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XVII.Mr. Pruyn  
induced to  
leave Yedo.

Mr. Pruyn having been thus persuaded to leave Yedo, the next measure adopted by the authorities was to effect without chance of failure the departure of the United States' consul and family, and some American missionaries, from Kanagawa to Yokohama.



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Americans  
at Kana-  
gawa re-  
moved to  
Yokohama.

Some officials roused the consul at night, and announced the imminent peril to which he and the others were exposed, and their inability to afford any protection. Upon this several of the families immediately embarked on board the U. S. ship of war "Wyoming" till they could find residences in Yokohama, to which settlement they all subsequently removed.

Swiss  
mission  
obliged to  
leave Yedo.

To render these measures thoroughly complete, the Swiss mission, which had proceeded to Yedo to negotiate a treaty, were conducted every evening on board a Japanese steamer for safety, and they were obliged finally to return in it in the early part of June to Yokohama, without having accomplished the object of their mission.

Steps to  
confine  
foreigners  
to the  
settlement.

Thus was the plan for ridding Yedo and even Kanagawa of all foreigners carried out for a season.

On the 31st of May the governor of Kanagawa convoked the consular body at Yokohama, and informed them that, owing to the presence of large bodies of *rônins* in Yedo and its vicinity, not only was the *tôkaidô* unsafe, but even the settlement at Yokohama. He stated that measures were being concerted to protect foreign residents, that a battalion of the *shôgun's* own guard, commanded by *hatamotos*, was to be sent down to reinforce the daimios' guards, and would be distributed in barracks and posts round the settlement, and that a strong detachment would also be placed at the east *hatoba*, *i.e.*, landing-place. The governor expected that in thirty days the district would be cleared of these *rônins*, and in order to prevent the confusion which might attend the joint action of Japanese and foreign troops, he hoped to meet this dangerous crisis with native soldiery alone,

otherwise there would be no hesitation in requesting the aid of foreign troops.

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The placing a Japanese guard at the east hatoba was protested against by the consuls, and ultimately abandoned after an interview which the governor sought with the English and French Representatives and Admiral Kuper. It seemed evident that the desire of the authorities was to confine the foreigners to the settlement, and to control their movements, preparatory to an attempt to expel them from the land.

To return to what was passing at Kiôto. On the 28th of May \* the Mikado went, accompanied by the shôgun, to visit the neighbouring shrines at Upper and Lower Kamo, as a preliminary to leading his army in person to drive out the foreigners. There was a numerous following of kugés and daimios, and many officials dressed in the costume and caps appropriate to their respective ranks, riding on gaily-caparisoned horses. They surrounded the phoenix car on all sides. Several hundred matchlock men preceded and brought up the rear of the procession, and all along the road retainers in hempen dresses of ceremony guarded the passage. The people of the neighbouring villages and districts came flocking in to adore the Imperial progress; old and young of both sexes and of all conditions collected in the shingly bed of the river Kamo, and, prostrating themselves in the road, worshipped with gratitude and tears of joy, and, clapping their hands, gazed reverently on the procession.

The  
Emperor  
and shôgun  
visit the  
shrines of  
Kamo.

\* This and the four following dates are probably not quite accurate. The *Genji yumé monogatari*, from which I am now quoting, is little to be relied on in respect to dates.

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XVII.Memorial of  
Shimadzu  
Saburô  
to the  
Emperor.

On the following day Shimadzu Saburô arrived again at Kiôto and sent in a memorial to the Mikado, saying that he had come thither in consequence of the confidential orders he had received from his Majesty; that attentive consideration of the state of things around the throne having convinced him that peril threatened the Empire from one moment to another, he had laid his opinion before the high officials of both Court and Camp. His advice had been disregarded, to his great grief and regret. For useless persons to remain at Kiôto would be injurious to the interests of both the Mikado and shôgun. That if slanders and false accusations were spread about, his opinion was that the result would be a civil disturbance before the very eyes of his Majesty. That as soon as his Majesty decided the question of the expulsion of the barbarians, he should at once return to his country, in order to take efficient measures for its defence, since, being surrounded on three sides by the sea, it was particularly exposed to the incursions of the ugly barbarians.

Returns to  
Satsuma.

On the 3rd of June, therefore, he returned to his country.

Maritime  
daimios  
leave.Emperor  
refuses to  
let the  
shôgun  
return to  
Yedo.

With the understanding that the demands made by the foreigners would shortly cause his Majesty to issue a notification declaring the date for their expulsion fixed, the maritime daimios were permitted to leave; they therefore all departed from Kiôto one by one, and returned to their countries. Upon the pretext that the shôgun was very anxious about this question, the bakufu officials made constant application to his Majesty, requesting urgently that leave might be granted to him to return to Kuantô; but his Majesty replied that if the shôgun were to reside in his capital, the distance which separates east and west would

prevent the sovereign and his vassal from understanding each other; that he should remain for a while by the throne, and reside in Kiôto to direct the movements of the daimios, until such time as the expulsion of the barbarians should be resolved upon.

On the 5th of June the shôgun had an audience of the Mikado, and the 25th of that month was fixed for the expulsion of the foreigners. An Imperial notification was issued accordingly, and a decree ordering each daimio to furnish a number of Imperial troops in proportion to the assessment of his fief.

On the 8th of June, at five in the evening, the shôgun suddenly asked for an audience, and it being granted, he urgently requested permission to leave, as affairs at Kuantô were becoming very critical. A notification was accordingly issued to the effect that the Mikado having given his permission, the shôgun would leave for his capital on the 10th. This permission, however, was subsequently withdrawn, and Kuantô affairs were entrusted to the Prince of Mito, who set off for Yedo at once.

The negotiations for payment of the indemnities demanded by Great Britain were, meanwhile, continued at Yokohama between Colonel Neale and various Japanese officials, and resulted in an agreement that the sums required (not including that demanded from Satsuma) should be forthcoming in certain instalments. On the 14th of June a formal document was signed by two officials of foreign affairs, and accepted by the British Representative, for the payment in instalments, week by week, of the two indemnities of ten thousand pounds sterling for the families of the two English guards, murdered at the legation at Yedo on the 26th of June, 1862, and one hundred thousand pounds

Agreement  
signed to  
pay  
indemnities  
of £10,000  
and £100,000  
in instal-  
ments.

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sterling in respect of the murder of Mr. Richardson. These two sums, at the exchange of five shillings to the Mexican dollar, amounted to four hundred and forty thousand Mexican dollars.

Despatch,  
&c., from  
Colonel  
Neale, showing  
the  
difficulties  
in obtaining  
payment of  
the indem-  
nities.

What subsequently ensued cannot be better recounted than by the following extract from a despatch and its enclosures from Colonel Neale :—

*Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.*

*“Yokohama, June 20, 1863.*

[Extract.]

“IN continuation of my despatch of the 14th instant by the last mail, I have the honour to lay before your Lordship a recital of what has passed in the eventful fortnight which has succeeded.

“At the last moment I transmitted to your Lordship a translation, in copy, of a formal and written engagement entered into with me by the Japanese to pay by instalments, at the periods specified, the pecuniary portion of the indemnity demanded by her Majesty's Government. That agreement was signed on the 14th instant.

“Thus far my instructions being on the very eve of accomplishment, I proceeded on the following day to enter, with the same Envoys, upon the subject of the demands preferred upon the Prince of Satsuma, which the Envoys declared that they desired and were equally empowered to settle in a manner satisfactory.

“The general purport and result of a very extended conference with the ministers, with which I will not weary your Lordship's attention, was to the effect that, on the part of the Envoys, they acknowledged the justice of the demand on Satsuma ; that the arrest, conviction, and capital execution of the murderers of



Mr. Richardson were also in accordance with their own laws ; and that the only obstacle which presented itself was the impossibility to find the murderer (for the policy of this Government leads it, on all occasions when such is possible, to acknowledge the guilt of only one person at a time) ; that the Prince of Satsuma had been in constant correspondence with the Tycoon's Government, and declared his desire and willingness to arrest the actual murderer when this was practicable, and that both the Tycoon's Government and the Prince of Satsuma would not relax in their efforts to effect this object. They (the Envoys) therefore proposed that the money-portion of the demands (£25,000) should be paid by the Tycoon's Government, and that we should await the arrest of the murderer in order to carry out the other portion of the demands.

"I replied, that my instructions were urgent and peremptory ; that the flight of the murderer, unless by the connivance of the Prince, was an inadmissible excuse, and the presumption that only one person was implicated equally inadmissible ; that if one, therefore, had fled, others must be within the reach of Satsuma ; that while the Japanese Government acknowledged its inability to arrest the criminals within the territories of the Prince of Satsuma, on the other hand it claimed for the Tycoon a right of sovereignty over the Prince's domains, and stated that it would be an act of hostility on our part if we proceeded ourselves upon Satsuma, who could not be considered an independent prince.

"I added that this anomalous and unusual situation of affairs could only be dealt with by corresponding proceedings, which were not resorted to under ordinary circumstances.



“Finally, I insisted that the indefinite period to which they postponed the arrest of the culprits could not be entertained by me ; and the Envoys returned to Yedo, to return to me in a day or two with a more reasonable project of settlement.

“The day now approached for the payment of the first instalment of the indemnities, which in the conference above referred to was no more alluded to, further than that the Envoys declared their satisfaction that it had been so happily settled and disposed of.

“On the 17th instant, the day preceding the payment, I received an official message from the Governor through Mr. Eusden, desiring to be informed at what hour I desired the money, which was all ready at the Custom-house, to be brought to this Legation.

“One p.m. was affixed for that purpose.

“I need hardly enlarge on the astonishment I experienced when a few hours before the appointed time I received a visit from the Governor of this place, who stated that he exceedingly regretted having to communicate that he had received orders from Yedo not to pay the money. At the same moment I received a despatch from one of the members of the Gorôjiu, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, confirming the Governor’s statement, and informing me that he would himself come down to make some communication to me.

“I at once broke off all further discussion with the Governor, but, at his earnest request, granted him twelve hours to proceed to Yedo to communicate my decision of placing the solution of matters by coercive measures in the hands of the Admiral, unless the whole of the money, and not only the instalment, were paid into my hands at the expiration of the time I had acceded to await.

“The Governor departed in hot haste to Yedo, and returned to me as the clock struck the hour appointed. He stated the Minister would inevitably be at Yokohama in a few hours, but I replied that under no circumstances would I receive any Japanese authority, whatever might be his rank, unless he came preceded by the indemnities. No Minister, however, arrived from Yedo, but I received a further written communication, a copy of which is inclosed. Mr. Eusden, the Japanese Secretary of this Legation, was summoned by the Governor to receive a communication, of which he furnished me with a report, herewith inclosed.

“And Mr. Winchester, in the meanwhile, reported to me the substance of an interview held by the Governor with the Consular authorities, a copy of which I have also the honour to inclose.

“I then, without the slightest hesitation, proceeded to address Admiral Kuper, placing the solution of affairs in his hands.”

Inclosure 1.—*The Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.*

[Translation.]

“I have the honour to inform you that the money which had been agreed on to be paid to-morrow, the 3rd instant (June 18), cannot be delivered on that day, owing to an unforeseen circumstance. I will discuss this matter with you when I come to Kana-gawa; therefore I have to request you to wait until the 7th instant (June 22).

“With respect and consideration.

“2nd of 5th month of 3rd year of Bunkiu (June 17).

(Signed)

“OGASAWARA DZUSHÔ NO KAMI.

“*Third Member of the Gorôjiu.*”

Inclosure 2.—*The Japanese Minister for Foreign  
Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.*

[Translation.]

“I have the honour to send you the following communication.

“I intended to have left to-day, the 4th instant (June 19), in order to have an interview with you ; but as I was suddenly taken ill, I could not depart, and as soon as I am better I will see you.

“With respect and consideration.

“4th of 5th month of 3rd year of Bunkiu (19th June, 1860).

(Signed) “OGASAWARA DZUSHÔ NO KAMI.”

Inclosure 3.—*Mr. Eusden to Lieutenant-Colonel  
Neale.*

“SIR,

“Yokohama, June 20, 1863.

“I have the honour to inform you that at the request of the Governor of Kanagawa I called on him this day, as he said he had a communication to make, which, as you had declined to receive any more official visits respecting the indemnity, he wished to be conveyed through me.

“The purport of this interview, which lasted two hours, was that the Tycoon’s Government had received orders from the Mikado not to pay the indemnity, which order they were bound to carry out, in the first place because it emanated from the Mikado, and secondly, because they feared an outburst of public indignation if not complied with ; also if not carried out, the Tycoon might have to pay for it with his life.

“The Governor further stated that Ogasawara Dzushô no Kami would enter into more particulars in

regard to this matter when he paid you his intended visit in a few days.

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"I have, &c.

(Signed)

"R. EUSDEN."

Inclosure 4.—*Consul Winchester to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.*

"SIR,

*Kanagawa, June 20, 1863.*

"This morning I received a note from M. de Bellecourt, the French Minister, requesting me to give M. Van der Voo, his delegate, any assistance which my experience might suggest, at a conference to which the governor had called all the foreign Consuls at 10 a.m.

"I assured M. Van der Voo, who presented the note, of my readiness to comply with M. de Bellecourt's request, stating at the same time that as yet I had not received the summons. Thinking it might have been taken to the residence of the Consular interpreter, I promised to let him know before 10 whether I was to be present or not.

"On learning at Mr. Dohmen's\* that no invitation to the conference had been received for me there, I went to M. Van der Voo's house, and found he had just left. I called on M. de Bellecourt to inform him of the reason why I was unable to comply with his wishes. M. de Bellecourt, on hearing my statement, at once sent directions to M. Van der Voo to withdraw from a conference to which the English Consul had not been invited, and on their receipt M. Van der Voo left the Custom-house.

\* Then Dutch interpreter, now H. B. M.'s Vice-Consul at Yedo, and Cancellier to the Legation.

"About 11.45 a Government interpreter came to me with a message, to the effect that the Governor had not invited me to the conference, presuming that I would be fully informed, through you, of the nature of the communication which he was to make to the other consuls.

"I have received from M. von Brandt \* the following account of the Governor's statement :—

"After explaining the terms of the arrangement made with her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires on the 14th, he stated that, on the night of the 17th, he had received commands not to pay the money next day ; but to inform the Chargé d'affaires that Ogasawara Dzushô no Kami, one of the Gorôjiu, would come down on the 22nd to confer with her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires. That the Chargé d'affaires was very angry, but had consented to two delays, the last expiring at 9 p.m. yesterday ; and that the Governor had gone to Yedo, but without result.

"Yesterday the Gorôjiu received a letter from the Tycoon commanding them not to pay the money. It being impossible for the Gorôjiu to communicate with officers of inferior rank, the Governor of Foreign Affairs, Sawa Kansichirô, was directed to convey their wishes through Yohawa, one of the Vice-Governors of Kânagawa, who was then in Yedo. This Vice-Governor had reported the commands of the Gorôjiu without delay, and the Governor had at once informed Mr. Eusden of its tenor, which was to the following effect :—

"The Tycoon had every intention to pay, but if he did so, would immediately lose his life. The Tycoon was the friend, and the Mikado the enemy of

\* Then Prussian Consul, now German Minister Resident.



foreigners. The latter had forbidden the Tycoon to pay, and the former was compelled to obey, or lose his position. CHAP  
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“He (the Governor) did not know what Ogasawara Dzushô no Kami was to say to Colonel Neale, but in any case the orders were not to pay. Neither was the Governor aware when this member of the Gorôjiu would come down, for he was sick.

“He (the Governor) certainly believed no indemnity would be paid, for the rumour of such an intention had spread through the country, and the *rônins* and bad people said, ‘Why pay the money to these poor fools, to these bad foreigners?’

“The opinion of the Tycoon’s Government was that the money ought to be paid, and the proof of this was that when Mr. Eusden took the ultimatum to Yedo (6th April) the Tycoon, who was still there, ordered the Gorôjiu to do so (this extraordinary statement was twice re-affirmed in reply to questions put by M. von Brandt). On the way to Miako, however, the Tycoon had received a communication from his spiritual superior which had made him reflect.

“Subsequently a great many things had occurred at Miako.

“The Governor thought it his duty to inform the Consuls, because the Japanese Government had done nothing, and he would be very sorry if the British Admiral did anything.

“On his return from the conference, M. von Brandt called a meeting of Prussian subjects, to whom he communicated what had occurred.

“I have, &c.

(Signed)

“CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.”



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June 24.  
The two  
indemnities  
are paid.

The persistence of Colonel Neale, however, had its reward, and at 1 a.m. on the morning of the 24th of June he was verbally informed that the Government purposed to pay the indemnities at once, and requested to know at what hour the money might be brought to the legation. He replied that he would be prepared to receive the money at 6 a.m., provided the whole amount of 440,000 Mexican dollars was brought at one time, as the arrangement entered into with regard to its liquidation by instalments was null and void, and could not be received in consequence of the breach of good faith on the part of the government.

No objection was offered, and as early as 5 a.m. several carts arrived laden with dollars, and the whole sum having been received was embarked in equal parts on board of her Majesty's ships "Euryalus," "Encounter," and "Pearl." All coercive measures were therefore suspended.

Communi-  
cation on  
the previous  
day from  
Ogasawara,  
that the  
open ports  
were to be  
closed.

But even before this operation was concluded, on the 23rd, Ogasawara arrived from Yedo, and immediately afterwards Colonel Neale, in common with his colleagues, received the following communication. Two other versions of the document from the original Japanese are annexed.

*The Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs to  
Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.*

[Translation from Dutch translation of Japanese  
Despatch.]

"I have the honour to inform you that I have received full powers to settle as follows:—

"I have been instructed by his Majesty the Tycoon, who is now at Miako, and who received this order

from the Mikado, to close the opened ports and to remove the subjects of Treaty Powers, as our nation does not wish to have any relations with them; thus this matter will be discussed with you afterwards.

“With respect and consideration.

“9th of 5th month of 3rd year of Bunkiu (24th June, 1863).

(Signed) “OGASAWARA DZUSHÔ NO KAMI.”

[Translation of the original Despatch in Japanese, by  
M. von Siebold, with the aid of his teacher.]

“I hereby communicate the following in writing:—

“Because the feelings of the inhabitants (of Japan) are inimical to foreign intercourse, I have received orders from his Majesty the Tycoon, now residing at Kiôto, to remove the foreigners and close the ports, leaving the negotiation of it in my hands.

“Although I myself intend to communicate the particulars verbally to you, I now communicate this to you beforehand.

“With respect and consideration.

“9th of 5th month of 3rd year of Bunkiu (24th June, 1863).

(Signed) “OGASAWARA DZUSHÔ NO KAMI.”

[Translation of the original Despatch in Japanese, by  
Mr. Satow, with the aid of his teacher.]

“I communicate with you by a despatch.

“The orders of the Tycoon, received from Kiôto, are to the effect that the ports are to be closed and the foreigners driven out, because the people of the country do not desire intercourse with foreign countries. The discussion of this has been entirely entrusted to me by

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his Majesty. I therefore send you this communication first, before holding a conference respecting the details.

“Respectful and humble communication.

“(24th June, 1863.)

(Signed) “OGASAWARA DZUSHÔ NO KAMI.”

Reply of  
Colonel  
Neale.

Colonel Neale at once replied in the following note to this communication, which was also answered by the French and American Representatives in the same sense.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

“Yokohama, June 24th, 1863.

“The Undersigned, her Britannic Majesty’s Chargé d’affaires, has received, in common with his colleagues, and with extreme amazement, the extraordinary announcement which, under instructions from his Majesty the Tycoon, his Excellency has addressed to him.

“Apart from the audacious nature of this announcement, which is unaccompanied by any explanations whatever, the Undersigned is bound to believe that both the spiritual and temporal sovereigns of this country are totally ignorant of the disastrous consequences which must arise to Japan by their determination thus conveyed through you to close the opened ports, and to remove therefrom the subjects of the Treaty Powers.

“For himself, as Representative of her Britannic Majesty, the Undersigned has to observe, in the first instance, that the rulers of this country may perhaps still have it in their power to modify and soften the severe and irresistible measures which will, without the least doubt, be adopted by Great Britain most

effectually to maintain and enforce its treaty obligations with this country, and, more than this, to place them on a far more satisfactory and solid footing than heretofore, by speedily making known and developing any rational and acceptable plans directed to this end, which may be at present concealed by his Majesty the Tycoon or by the Mikado, or by both, to the great and imminent peril of Japan.

“It is therefore the duty of the Undersigned solemnly to warn the rulers of this country that when the decision of her Majesty’s Government, consequent upon the receipt of your Excellency’s announcement, shall have in due course been taken, the development of all ulterior determinations now kept back will be of no avail.

“The Undersigned in the meanwhile has to inform your Excellency, with a view that you may bring the same to the knowledge of his Majesty the Tycoon, who will doubtless make the same known to the Mikado, that the indiscreet communication now made through your Excellency is unparalleled in the history of all nations, civilized or uncivilized; that it is, in fact, a declaration of war by Japan itself against the whole of the Treaty Powers, and the consequences of which, if not at once arrested, it will have speedily to expiate by the severest and most merited chastisement.

“With respect and consideration.

(Signed) “EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.”

All Colonel Neale’s proceedings in this crisis were approved by the Queen and her Government.

The opportune presence of Admiral Kuper with a powerful squadron enabled the British Representative to look upon this step on the part of the Japanese

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Government as an unmeaning menace, and he designated the attitude taken by his French colleague and himself as one of defensive expectancy. At the same time, they were determined to maintain their footing at Yokohama, where foreign trade had progressed in so marked a manner.

Apology  
from  
bakufu for  
the two  
outrages on  
British  
subjects in  
1862.

It may be here stated that the other demand of her Majesty's Government, namely for an apology in respect of the two murders and outrages committed on British subjects in 1862, was complied with in July. After Colonel Neale had rejected two letters as unsatisfactory, he accepted a third, of which the following is a translation from the Japanese :—

*The Japanese Ministers to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.*

“ We communicate with you by a despatch.

“ Last year, at the British Legation in Yedo, a wicked and murderous act took place. Again, on the tôkaidô, a British subject was murdered. Such unfortunate affairs were for us highly to be regretted. Thus we hope that affairs likely to break off the intercourse between the two countries may not again arise. We desire to inform you thus much.

“ Respectful and humble communication.

“ (July 3, 1863.)

(Signed) “ MATSUDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.

“ INOUYÉ KATACHI NO KAMI.

“ OGASAWARA DZUSHÔ NO KAMI.”

This desire, expressed in writing, that nothing might again arise to break off the intercourse between Great Britain and Japan, reads rather strangely after the despatch dated only nine days previously, and

also signed by Ogasawara, announcing the order "to remove foreigners and close the ports."

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But the Japanese chronicler shows that the bakufu officials were greatly alarmed, being persuaded that the foreigners were on the point of commencing hostilities.

Alarm of  
the bakufu  
at ap-  
proaching  
hostilities  
with  
foreigners.

The fact was that these officials, from their intercourse with foreigners, and from having seen their ships of war, were naturally aware of the superior strength of other nations, and of the inability of Japan to expel the strangers from their country. All this was as yet unknown to the Court at Kiôto, living away from the coast and the open ports in isolation and ignorance, unknown, too, to many powerful clans who had not yet come into contact, or into direct collision, with the "ugly barbarians."

Officials of the bakufu, then, are reported to have said to Ogasawara, "Whatever the Court may fancy, it knows nothing about foreign affairs, and therefore simply orders us to expel the foreigners; but if hostilities break out, it will not be easy to make matters quiet again." And they urged him to use his influence with the Court that the foreigners might be appeased, and that the whole affair might end amicably.

Their  
language to  
Ogasawara.

We can thus understand the payment of the indemnities and the written apology, and it is said that Ogasawara was forced by circumstances to agree at last with the other officials, and that he and the Prince of Mito reported to Kiôto that the murder on the tôkaidô was a different question to that of the expulsion of foreigners, with which it should not be mixed up, that an indemnity had therefore been paid, but that the negotiations for breaking off intercourse would be continued



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“On this,” says the patriotic Japanese writer, “two chief retainers of the house of Mito went to Ogasawara, and insisted on arguing the question with him, but the mischief was already done, and there was no help for it; so they gnashed their teeth with indignation.”

Hitotsūbashi reports to Kiôto that the foreigners cannot be expelled.

Hitotsūbashi, however, who had returned to Yedo, reported to Kiôto that, bearing the sage order to expel the barbarians, he had gone down to the east, to find no two of the rôjiu or of the greater and lesser officials agreeing; that the Imperial mandate could certainly not be carried out, that he was alarmed at the guilt he had incurred by undertaking to execute the important duty of expelling the barbarians, being, as he said, ignorant of the affairs of Kuantô and of the politics of the day, and, moreover, stupid and devoid of talent by nature; that he humbly awaited his punishment, and begged to be allowed to resign his present office.

Indignation of the Court.

Now, the Imperial Court had been waiting in anxious expectation to see how the Kuantô people would conduct the negotiations for closing the ports, and when this news came there was great fermentation in its councils. The courtiers were indignant at what they deemed the cowardly and temporizing action of the bakufu officials, whom they stigmatized as “effete and dishonourable *samurai*.” From this time, we learn, the whole country was profoundly agitated, and the influence of the bakufu declined enormously.

Further attempts were made to induce the Emperor to permit the shôgun to return to Yedo, but his Majesty still refused to give his consent.

Assassination of Ané-no-kôji.

More violent acts took place at Kiôto, and Ané-no-kôji, who, it will be remembered, had been sent with

Sanjô as imperial Envoy to Yedo, was attacked by three men on the night of the 4th of July, when returning from the palace, and so grievously wounded that he died the same night, at the early age of twenty-five. The murderer was not discovered, but, according to common report, he belonged to the Satsuma clan.

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A little previous to this assassination, an incident happened which was destined to have most important results.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1863.

Firing on American, Dutch, and French ships, by Chôshiu men, in Shomonoséki Straits.—Admiral Jaurès proceeds thither and destroys a Battery, &c.—Account of the occurrences.—Agreements among the Representatives.—Native account.

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Consul  
Winchester  
is informed  
of the firing  
on an  
American  
ship by  
Chôshiu  
men on  
June 25.

MR. CONSUL WINCHESTER reported to Colonel Neale, on the 11th of July, that his presence had been requested at the Custom-house that morning, where he was informed by one of the high Yedo officials that an American ship had entered the Inland Sea on the 25th of June, and had been fired into by two men-of-war belonging to the Prince of Chôshiu; that the vessel had subsequently left, that a rough report of the occurrence had been received from the officers of the prince resident at Shimonoséki, and had been forwarded by the governor of that town to Kiôto and Yedo; that the news had been communicated to the United States' minister, and that further inquiry would be at once made into the subject.

The vessel was supposed, and turned out to be, the "Pembroke," a small American steamer on her way from Yokohama to Shanghai, viâ the Inland Sea and Nagasaki. The United States' steam-sloop

“Wyoming,” Captain McDougal, immediately proceeded to Shimonoséki, with the intention of boarding and seizing the armed vessels which had fired into the “Pembroke.”

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The  
“Wyoming” leaves  
for Shimonoséki.

At this very time, the Dutch corvette “Medusa,” 16 guns, quitted Nagasaki for Yokohama with the Dutch Consul-general on board. Information had been received at Nagasaki of the firing into the “Pembroke,” but Captain de Cazembroot, commanding the “Medusa,” nevertheless determined to proceed through the Straits of Shimonoséki, judging it to be little probable that the Chôshiu men would dare to act similarly towards a ship of war, more especially one bearing the flag of a nation long allied in friendship with Japan. The “Medusa,” however, upon her entry into the Straits, received the concentrated fire of eight batteries, and of the two armed vessels already mentioned.

Dutch  
corvette  
“Medusa”  
fired into  
similarly.

During the interval, writes Colonel Neale, on the 29th of July, intelligence reached Yokohama that the French aviso “Kien-chang,” bearing a pennant, and bound from Yokohama to Shanghai, had, when at anchor in the straits, been fired upon by the same vessels and batteries, and hulled in seven places, narrowly escaping destruction by slipping her cable, and running out by the Bungo Channel.

Also French  
aviso  
“Kien-  
chang.”

Within twenty-four hours of the receipt of this information at Yokohama, the French Admiral Jaurès departed with his flag-ship, the “Semiramis,” and the gun-boat “Tancredè” for the scene of action.

Admiral  
Jaurès  
leaves for  
the scene of  
action.

The destruction of one of the batteries, and of the guns and munitions of war, by the French Admiral, was minutely described in a semi-official letter addressed by the interpreter attached to the flag-ship to the editor of a local paper, upon the return of the “Semi-

He destroys  
a battery,  
&c.

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ramis," after about a week's absence. A copy is herewith annexed, together with copies of statements of the attack upon the "Medusa" and the operations of the "Wyoming," which were communicated to another paper. I have merely altered the spelling of some of the names. The other documents which follow are copies of the agreements entered into by the Representatives of France, the United States, Great Britain, and Holland, for taking immediate measures to re-open the Inland Sea, and of Colonel Neale's communication to the rôjiu of the proceedings of the Representatives.

[*Extract from the "Japan Herald."*]

"To the Editor of the '*Japan Herald*.'

"DEAR SIR,

"I am authorized by Admiral Jaurès, Commander-in-chief of the French forces in China and Japan, to communicate to you the following account of the proceedings of his Imperial Majesty's ships 'Semiramis' and 'Tancrède,' and my own experiences in the recent retaliatory visit of those ships to the Straits of Shimonoséki.

"We left Yokohama on the morning of the 16th, and arrived in the Bungo entrance to the Inland Sea on the morning of Sunday, the 19th. We anchored in the channel and prepared for action.

"Early on the morning of Monday we ran, under slow steam, into the entrance of the Shimonoséki Channel, looking out for the batteries. When about two miles from the Nagato side of the channel we saw the flashes and smoke of two guns fired from the midst of the trees, and soon after made out Cho-fu,

the castle of Saki-no-sûké, a member of Matsudaira Daizen no Daibu's family,\* and on proceeding a little further on, on the same, *i.e.* northern, or Nagato side, a battery of five 25-pounder guns. The Admiral decided upon the destruction of this battery, and not of the castle. We then came to anchor about three-quarters of a mile from the battery near the village of Tanöura, in the Province of Buzen. When anchored, it was found that the current put us stem on to the battery. About half-an-hour was spent in putting springs on our cable, and a hawser to a Japanese junk moored at some distance from us.

During all this time the Japanese gunners remained at their guns, not even pointing them at us ; had they done so, they might have raked us fore and aft ; we therefore thought that the guns were fixed in the one position, *viz.* pointed up the narrowest part of the channel, but when we took the battery we found this not to be the case, the guns being perfectly mounted on good European-fashioned carriages. When broadside on, the frigate fired a 60-pounder rifle-ball, which went right over the battery. The second carried right into the middle of the parapet, and sent earthwork and stones, turf and sand-bags, flying around in every direction. Still no answer was returned by the Japanese.

"We continued the bombardment till nearly 11 o'clock, sending in the shells every five minutes, and making beautiful practice. I was then sent on shore, in company with M. l'Abbé Girard, to the town of Tanöura, to distribute the proclamation of Admiral Jaurès to the effect that the country people had

\* The family of Môri, Princes of Chôshiu.



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nothing to fear on that side, that he had come only to punish the Prince of Nagato for having fired into a vessel under the French flag, and inviting them to send provisions on board against payment.

“We found our way to the house of the Mayor without difficulty, not being molested in any way by the people, who crowded round us in great numbers, and we were received by this official with all honours and politeness. He thanked us for the proclamation, and in our presence sent it by a messenger to the Prince of Buzen.

“During this trip on shore I had heard both the frigate and the ‘Tancrède’ recommence their fire, and on going on board I learned that the Admiral had ordered the ‘Tancrède’ to run in towards Shimonoséki, and that, when she came into the narrowest part of the passage, the battery opened fire upon her; our guns, however, soon silenced the battery. I saw one gun toppled over by a shell, and two or three Japanese gunners fly into the air. The ‘Tancrède’ was hit in three places: one shot went into her hull, one into the mizen topmast, and one cut away the fore-topmast, which only stood then by the stays.

“At noon, after the men’s dinner, the Admiral ordered a landing, and I had the good luck to be ordered to accompany Captain Duquilliot, the Commander of the troops. We landed in all 250 men, 180 sailors and 70 Chasseurs of the 3rd Bataillon d’Afrique.

“On nearing the shore to the right of the battery, protected from her by a projecting bluff, the boat’s rifled gun sent a few shells into the bushes as a precaution, but nobody stirred. We landed in good order, and made, in three divisions, for the battery. After

we had well entered into the bushes, we were attacked by the Japanese in several isolated troops of three or four, some with rifles, some with swords, but most with old Brown Bess, of Dutch manufacture. These lay concealed, aiming at us as we approached. They were immediately charged and bayoneted. Some few made a stand, but generally took to immediate flight. I think there must have been about twenty killed this way.

“Passing through this brushwood, we came upon the battery. It was quite deserted. The parapet was all ploughed up by our shells. One gun lay upset; another had its trunnions knocked off, and pools of blood in all directions. The dead had all been carried away. In a hollow road behind the battery we found some clothes soaked with blood, and some accoutrements. The guns having been spiked, the Commandant ordered brushwood, mats, and all other inflammable materials to be placed under the gun-carriages, which were then fired. The powder-magazine was found outside the battery, in a very safe position in a hollow road. The powder and all the ammunition were thrown into the sea.

“While this was going on in the battery, M. Layrle, Chef d’Etat-Major of Admiral Jaurès, advanced by the right of the battery (keeping up a continual fire with Japanese hid in the bushes) to a village called Aidago-mome, which was abandoned by the peasants, and evidently used as dwelling-places for the troops belonging to the batteries. In the middle of this town there was a large building a little way up the hill, half temple half palace like, in which there was found a great deal of powder and ammunition, which, having been fired by us, blew up with a tremendous noise just as we were re-embarking.

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“On entering the battery I went at once to the principal building, where I found a good quantity of Japanese armour and arms, but no one in the house. In looking about I found several Japanese translations of Dutch books on fortification and gunnery, one of which (which I have now in my possession) was marked at the page where it treats of attacking ships that are carried away by the current.

“Having thus accomplished our object, destroyed the battery and guns, and also burned the village (the quarters of the soldiers), we re-embarked.

“I must not forget to mention that during the re-embarkation the frigate, the ‘Tancrède,’ and the boats’ guns opened a heavy fire on some spot to the right of us, but hidden by the bushes. On going on board I learned that they had seen about 2000 Regular Infantry, some men on horseback, and even field artillery, coming down upon us from Shimonoséki by the road along the shore. They fired a few shells amongst them, which, exploding in their midst, did them considerable damage, and they speedily retreated.

“We had in all three men wounded, belonging to the Chasseurs, two by musket-balls and one by a stab of a dagger of a Japanese who was lying wounded on the ground, and stabbed him as he passed by.

“It is difficult to arrive at any estimate of the casualties of the Japanese, but there was abundant testimony in the batteries that their loss there must have been very considerable, besides that which the shell-practice, at a range of 3000 yards, did upon their advancing column.

“I remain, &c.,

(Signed)

“F. BLEKMAN,

“*Interpreter attached to the French Admiral.*”

[*Extract from the "Japan Commercial News" of*  
*July 24, 1863.*]

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"We are indebted to the kindness and courtesy of D. de Graeff van Polsbroek, Esq., his Netherlands Majesty's Consul-General in Japan, for the following authentic account of the attack upon the 'Medusa' in Shimonoséki Bay; and to Captain de Cazembroot, of the 'Medusa,' for the interesting map of the Bay of Shimoneséki, which we publish this day for the information and gratification of our readers:—

"On the 9th instant his Netherlands Majesty's steam-ship "Medusa" (16 guns) left Nagasaki on her way to Kanagawa by the Suwô Nada or Inland Passage, and at some distance from Nagasaki she met his Imperial Majesty's despatch-boat "Kien-chang," Commander Lafond, who informed the "Medusa" that she had been fired upon by the forts at Shimonoséki and by two foreign-built vessels (one under the Japanese flag) lying in that harbour.

"The captain of the "Medusa" had previously decided to pass through the Inland Sea, and therefore had a Japanese pilot provided by the Governor of Nagasaki.

"On the morning of the 11th of July the "Medusa" weighed anchor in the neighbourhood of Ay-Shima, where she had awaited daylight to run into Shimonoséki Straits. On entering this strait two blank shots were fired from one of the batteries, and were immediately answered by eight similar ones from the brig before the town. As yet the "Medusa" did not think that these signals would be followed by any hostile act, more especially as the opposite shore of Kiushiu was lined with native junks. Having approached the brig, she and a barque, without any flag,

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and a very heavily armed battery on the hill, opened fire upon the "Medusa." Upon the brig ("Lanrick") flew the flag of the Daimio of Nagato—being a blue flag with three white balls in a triangle and a white stripe above: from the peak no flag flew. The two vessels lay behind a bank in about two fathoms of water, and therefore the "Medusa" could not possibly approach them nearer than three cables' lengths. The "Medusa," after the manner of all ships of war, immediately responded to the forts and the ships with shot and shell.

"Steering slowly up the stream, the "Medusa" kept up a constant fire against the ships and batteries, the latter being all armed with heavy artillery (mostly 24-pounders and 6-inch shells). It was already discovered that there were six batteries at least. The "Medusa" silenced the biggest of them, which mounted eight very heavy guns, but the others, which were behind trees and rocks on the heights, kept firing away upon her. A few well-directed shots from the "Medusa" somewhat staggered the firing on board the two ships, but she got it all the heavier from the batteries on shore as she was steaming past within reach of them.

"She being exposed to the cross-fire of four batteries in front of Shimonoséki, and the correct aim of the enemy's shot and shell having begun to tell on the hull of the "Medusa," the commander was induced to give up all idea of sinking the two ships, which unfortunately were in too shallow water.

"It became now a matter of impossibility to return with effect the fire of all the batteries which fired on the "Medusa," and she being in doubt also as to the intentions of some batteries on the Kiushiu side, she



determined to make a dash through the straits, firing as quickly as she could all the time. To prevent the great disaster of having her boiler, screw, or rudder hit by the large calibre of the enemy's shot, she determined to steam slowly through, answering the enemy's fire all the time.

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“ ‘When it is considered that the “Medusa” was under a heavy fire from seven batteries for an hour and a half, it is wonderful that she did not sink, and that she has to deplore the loss of so few men killed.

“ ‘Of thirty-one enemy's shots, seventeen pierced the hull of the “Medusa,” the remainder passing through her rigging and funnel; three 8-inch shells of the enemy burst on board. A 30-pounder shot killed three and wounded two men in one battery on board the “Medusa.” A similar shot soon after struck a sailor of the first class commanding a gun, inflicting a mortal wound on him from which he died soon after. The Consul-general had a very narrow escape from being killed by this ball, which passed quite close to him. Another ball entered the starboard, smashing a pistol-rack and scattering splinters and balls in all directions, and wounding two sailors very severely; those are still in a dangerous state. This particular ball passed between the Captain and Midshipman Wissel, both having a narrow escape, but suffering only slight injuries from splinters. Lieutenant Thurkow and a non-commissioned officer also had a miraculous escape from another ball which entered the ship. The manner in which splinters and bolts flew about the ship was indescribable.

“ ‘Considering that three shells had exploded on board, and that seventeen balls had entered the ship



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and caused her much injury, it is astonishing that only four men were killed and five wounded.

“The orders of the Commander were carried out with the greatest coolness, and the men behaved very well—few of them having ever been under fire before.

“It is impossible to determine the loss of the enemy, but it must be considerable, as they mustered in great force in the batteries, and the “Medusa’s” grape-shot and 8-inch shells told with great effect among them, and must have caused great destruction in the batteries. All her shots which missed the batteries went into the town, whereas all the enemy’s shots which missed the “Medusa” went into the junks on the Kiushiu side. In the broadest part the strait is about 1200 Dutch yards wide, and in the narrowest about 900 yards wide.’”

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“We have been furnished with the following account of the trip of the United States’ steamer ‘Wyoming’ by E. S. Benson, Esq., who was passenger on board :—

“Information having reached Yokohama on the 11th instant that the American steamer “Pembroke” had been fired into by two Japanese armed vessels, Captain McDougal immediately issued the necessary orders to prepare for sea. Coal and stores having been taken on board, we got under weigh at five o’clock on the morning of the 13th instant, entered the Bungo Channel on the 15th, and anchored at the Island of Himéshima. The next morning (16th instant) we proceeded toward’s the Straits of Shimonoséki, the western entrance of the Inland Sea. On the northern shore of the narrow passage is the province of Nagato, governed by the Prince of Chôshiu.

“ ‘ Within the past year he purchased the steamer “Lancefield” and brig “Lanrick,” the former for 125,000 dollars, and the latter for about 25,000 dollars.

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“ ‘ On nearing the straits a signal gun was fired from a masked battery on the northern shore, which was repeated by two others to the westward towards Shimonoséki.

“ ‘ Rounding the point on the southern side of the entrance, a barque, brig, and steamer were discovered lying at anchor close to the north shore ; the steamer and the brig were immediately made out to be the “Lancefield” and “Lanrick,” the barque’s name we did not know. All the vessels were flying the Japanese flag at the peak, and the private colours of the Prince of Nagato at the main. We now steered directly for the vessels, when a battery of three guns on the northern shore, about fifty feet above the level of the sea, opened fire on us, cutting up the rigging between the main and mizen mast. We then ran up the American flag, and, still steaming on, were fired on by a battery of four guns : to this we replied with a broadside.

“ ‘ We were now rapidly approaching the vessels ; the barque was close in shore ; about fifty yards outside of her, and one length ahead, lay the brig ; another length ahead, and fifty yards outside the brig, was the steamer.

“ ‘ The main channel was outside of all these vessels. Captain McDougal gave orders to run the “Wyoming” between the steamer and the brig. As we got abreast of the barque she opened a broadside fire from three guns ; in less than two minutes we were abreast of the brig and received her fire from four brass 23-pounders.

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We now had the steamer on our port side ; her guns, like the others, being trained on the channel, she fired a few swivels and small arms only. In passing we gave them all our guns on both sides, hulling both the brig and the steamer. Keeping close round the bows of the steamer, we stood over towards the southern shore, receiving a constant fire from six batteries, the steamer, brig, and barque. We here got aground, but backed off without much difficulty. The steamer "Lancefield" having steam up, slipped her cable, keeping close along the northern shore, either with the intention of escaping, or of running on shore to examine the damage caused by our first shots. The "Wyoming" was now manœuvred into position and an 11-inch shell was planted in the steamer direct amidships, about one foot above the water line. In an instant volumes of steam and smoke issued out of her fore and aft ; her boiler was exploded. After dropping two more shells into her hull, the order was given to cease firing on the steamer, and to direct the shots upon the different batteries, the barque, and the brig, all of which were loading and firing as rapidly as possible. Quite a number of shell exploded in the batteries, and considerable damage was done to the town.

"In passing out of the straits we delivered a few very effective shots into the brig, and the last seen of her she was fast settling by the stern ; the fire from the batteries was kept up throughout, but somewhat slackened on our return.

"By that time we had four men killed outright and seven wounded (one since died). The armament of the "Wyoming" being only four 32-pounders and two pivot guns, opposed to six shore batteries of an average of three guns each, the barque six, the brig

eight, and the steamer two ; making in all, thirty-four guns, mostly 32-pounders,—Captain McDougal very wisely concluded to withdraw from so unequal a contest, and proceed to Yokohama for more force. The captain, all his officers, and crew behaved with the utmost coolness and bravery. The “Wyoming” was run into the midst of the enemy’s vessels, receiving and returning broadsides at pistol range, at the same time sustaining a hot and continuous fire from shore batteries. When the successful shot struck the steamer our crew gave three hearty cheers. The action lasted one hour and ten minutes ; we were hulled eleven times, and received twenty or thirty shots in the masts, rigging, and smoke-stack.

“ ‘ One 32-pound shell came through, immediately below the tackles of the forward broadside gun, and exploding, killed one man and wounded five others.’ ”

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*Agreement entered into by the Representatives of France, the United States, Great Britain, and Holland, to take immediate measures for the Re-opening of the Inland Sea.*

“ Les Soussignés, Représentants au Japon de la France, des États Unis, de l’Angleterre, et des Pays-Bas, se sont réunis le 25 Juillet, 1863, à Yokohama, à l’effet d’examiner l’état actuel des choses au Japon, et de prendre à cet égard une résolution.

“ Après discussion il a été convenu qu’il est indispensable pour le maintien des droits consacrés par les Traités conclus avec le Japon de procéder immédiatement à la réouverture de la Mer Intérieure, toujours pratiquée jusqu’à présent, et dont la libre circulation

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vient d'être inopinément interrompue par les agressions outrageantes dont le Daimio de Nagato s'est rendu coupable en faisant canonner des batteries érigées sur les côtes de ses États les bâtimens de commerce et de guerre de plusieurs des dites Puissances Contractantes, et qu'en conséquence il y a lieu d'inviter les Amiraux et autres officiers commandants les forces navales des Puissances ci-dessus désignées à prendre toutes mesures qu'il jugeront propres à amener ce résultat.

“ Dans ce but, aussi bien que dans l'intérêt de la protection de leurs nationaux dans les ports ouverts, les dits Représentants déclarent qu'il leur paraît nécessaire d'établir une action combinée des forces navales et militaires disponibles dans ces mers. Il est en outre convenu que le Gouvernement du Taïcoun sera informé de cette décision afin que ce Gouvernement soit mis à même de prendre immédiatement et activement, s'il le peut, les mesures nécessaires pour effectuer par ses propres moyens les objets seul indiquées, attendu que son action, si elle était aussi énergique et prompte que les circonstances actuelles l'exigent, pourrait dispenser les Agents des Puissances Contractantes de se livrer aux opérations dont les Soussignés ont exposé ci-dessus les motifs.

(Signé) “ DUCHESNE DE BELLECOURT,  
“ *Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté l'Empereur  
des Français.*

“ ROBT. H. PRUYN,  
“ *Minister Resident of the United States in Japan.*

“ EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE,  
“ *Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'affaires.*

“ D. DE GRAEFF VAN POLSBROEK,  
“ *Consul-Général des Pays-Bas au Japon.*”



*Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers  
for Foreign Affairs.*

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*“Yokohama, July 28, 1863.*

“The Undersigned has the honour to transmit to your Excellencies a translation of the resolutions arrived at by the Representatives of France, the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands in Japan, at a meeting held by them on the 25th July.

“The outrages and insults which the Daimio of Nagato, Matsudaira Daizen no Daibu, has ventured to undertake by firing into the ships of war of France, the United States, and the Netherlands, is looked upon by the Undersigned as an attempt to carry out the edicts of the Mikado, communicated through the Tycoon, for the expulsion of foreigners.

“This will be resisted by a force the extent of which cannot at present be contemplated.

“No reasonable man in Japan can doubt as to what must be, even in one year, the fate of this country if the outrageous and lawless attempt to cancel solemn treaties by treacherous and violent acts is not immediately abandoned.

“But if there are daimios in Japan who do not understand that the solemn obligations imposed by treaties cannot and never have been set aside by violence in any part of the world, the whole people of this country will suffer by the ignorance or unreasonable arrogance of those daimios.

“The Ministers for foreign affairs of the Tycoon have, however, within the last few days, informed the Minister of France that the Tycoon’s Government is able to punish daimios who commit acts of war or other outrageous deeds. If so, let the Government



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with all speed destroy the batteries of the Daimio of Nagato and remove his guns.

“But it is essential that the Tycoon’s Government should perfectly understand that there are certain acts which, according to the law of all civilized nations, must instantly be resented, and above all others is an insult offered to a national flag.

“Vessels under the flags of the United States, of France, and the Netherlands, have been successively fired into, and men have been killed and wounded among their crews; and the ships of those nations have inflicted a preliminary punishment upon this daimio and his vessels and forts. No delay is admissible in the destruction of these batteries. The first foreign vessel fired upon by this daimio, namely, the American vessel ‘Pembroke,’ was on the 26th June; thus thirty days have now elapsed during which the Tycoon’s government might have arrested the outrages of this daimio if enabled to do so.

“With respect and consideration.

(Signed) “EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.”

Native  
account.

The following is the account of these occurrences in the *Genji yumé monogatari*:—

“On the 25th of June, observing an American steamer \* pass through the strait in front of Tanōura in Buzen, the Chōshiu forces opened fire on it from their great guns. The American vessel fired four or five shots also, and then fled defeated. This was the first deed of arms in Japan.

“On the 8th of July a foreign man-of-war was fired on as she was passing near the town of Chofu, and as she responded with several shots, a regular

\* The “Pembroke.”

battle ensued. On the 11th of July a Dutch vessel \* was fired on as she was passing through the straits, and driven off. CHAP.  
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“From this day forth fights with foreign vessels were of daily occurrence in Chôshiu. On the 16th of July a barbarian vessel † came to make an attack, and sank the Prince of Chôshiu’s own steamer, the ‘Koshin Maru.’ ‡ Both sides discharged great guns and small arms at each other, and a general engagement took place.

“On the 20th, barbarian vessels § bombarded and destroyed the forts of Dannoura and Sugiya at Shimonoséki, and the enemy landing, fought fiercely at Maedamura, setting fire to the dwellings of the people, and committing other acts of violence. The Chôshiu troops had a very hard fight of it; but their brave soldiers, full of intrepid zeal, knocked over a considerable number of the foreigners, and swept back those who had landed. So the barbarian vessels all retreated. They had fought fiercely from the 16th to the 20th.

“The Kokura clan on the opposite shore sent no troops to the assistance of the Chôshiu forces in their hard fight with the barbarians, but stood looking on quietly, at which the patriots were indignant. The Emperor in consequence issued a notification declaring that a report had been made to him of the attack by barbarian ships at Akamagaséki, || of their landing

\* The “Medusa.”

† The “Wyoming.”

‡ The “Lancefield,” sold to the Prince of Chôshiu by Jardine Matheson & Co. innocently enough.

§ The “Semiramis” and “Tancrède.”

|| Akamagaséki, or more elegantly, *Bakuan*, is the name of that part of the strait where the batteries were formerly situated.—E. S.

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there and of the fight which ensued ; that the neighbouring clans ought to send assistance ; the peril of Chôshiu was the peril of the Empire. Without caring about whether it was their own territory or that of another which was attacked, succour ought to be sent, and the greatest efforts made in order to cause the military glory of the sacred province to shine brightly. If any individual looked on with indifference in future, he would be deprived of his rank and honours." \*

\* The word which throughout this work is translated clan is *han*. Mr. Satow says : It literally means fence, the duty of a *han* being to defend the throne against its enemies ; but clan seems the best term by which to denote a fractional part of the nation, which, held together under one chief by the closest ties, looked with hostile eyes on other similar fractions of the nation. As an instance of this feeling, it is sufficient to state that a *daimio's* retainer invariably meant by the term "my country" not Japan, but the territory ruled over by his lord.

## CHAPTER XIX.

1863.

Court still hope to expel the Foreigners.—Uneasiness of Bakufu.  
 —Ogasawara sent to bring back Shôgun.—His Failure and  
 Disgrace.—Return of Shôgun.—The Situation.

It was evident that as far as the officials at the seat of government in Yedo were concerned, the conviction was fast being reached that the expulsion of foreigners was wellnigh impracticable. But the Court party had by no means renounced the cherished object, and it was at last determined at Kiôto that, as the bakufu officials had failed in the conduct of the negotiations at Yedo and Yokohama, the shôgun should return to his capital. He accordingly had his audience of leave on the 18th of July. Meanwhile the Yedo officials, on their side, were lamenting the delay in the shôgun's return, as he was supposed only to have gone to Kiôto for ten days, and it looked as if he was to be kept there as a hostage till the foreigners were driven out of Japan. Ogasawara had therefore been appointed to the command of several hundred troops, and ordered to proceed to Ôzaka by steamer, to march from there to Kiôto, and

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Court still  
hope to  
expel  
foreigners.  
Shôgun  
to be sent  
back to  
Yedo.

Ogasawara  
sent with  
troops to  
bring back  
the shôgun.

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and  
disgrace.

taking possession of the shôgun's person, bring him back by force to his capital in the East.

When this became known at Kiôto, the low-class *samurai* were highly indignant, and declared that if Ogasawara came to the Emperor's capital, they would make him prisoner. He, however, heard of their intentions when he reached Fushimi, and being much frightened, made his way back to Ôzaka, where he concealed himself under the protection of the governor of the castle. For this conduct, or, as stated in the *Kinsé Shiriaku*, because he had paid the indemnities to the English without asking for sanction, he was deprived of his rank and titles, and confined in his *yashiki*, at Ôzaka, under the custody of the governor.

Departure  
of shôgun  
for Yedo.

On the 24th of July the shôgun left Kiôto for Yedo, remaining at Ôzaka several days. He had informed the Mikado that it was his intention to travel by land along the tôkaidô, but notwithstanding this, he embarked at Ôzaka in a steamer, and reached Yedo on the 31st.

"After this," says the chronicler, "the patriots of the whole country hastened to assemble at Kiôto, and became more and more zealous. The imperial Court proclaimed that, as it had already notified the date fixed for the expulsion of the barbarians, and as Chôshiu, respectfully obeying the wise will, had resolutely proceeded to sweep and drive them away, any barbarians who might henceforth visit the country must be expelled without more ado; and that all the clans, helping their neighbours, must exert their strength to the utmost."

The situa-  
tion. De-  
spatch from  
Colonel  
Neale.

Colonel Neale sums up the situation in a despatch of the 29th of July, of which the following is an extract:—

“In common with my colleagues, I feel utterly unable satisfactorily to penetrate the mysterious policy and proceedings of the Tycoon’s Government, if, indeed, any defined policy with regard to foreigners is determined upon.

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“In words the Tycoon’s Envoys have assured my colleagues of France and myself that the Mikado’s edict of expulsion, conveyed to the Representatives of the Treaty Powers as a matter of obligation by the Tycoon, was a dead letter with respect to all action in regard to it. The defence of Yokohama has been left to the unrestricted care of the British and French Admirals, so far so, indeed, that the Admirals have been applied to by the local authorities with reference to the changes of post and movements of their own Japanese guards in this vicinity.

“Trade is conducted uninterruptedly, and provisions are freely supplied to the fleet at Yokohama and to the foreign inhabitants. Pilots are readily supplied when required by the ships of war which have proceeded to chastise the outrages committed by the Daimio of Nagato. Those pilots have discharged their functions under the destructive fire of the batteries manned by their own countrymen. Public works connected with the foreign settlements are scrupulously continued without cessation. And finally (though above all), the indemnity money, amounting to the considerable sum which it does, was quietly paid to me without the firing of a shot. And the apology required rendered under no influence of immediate pressure.

“On the other hand, the Tycoon’s Ministers carefully abstain, on all occasions, to declare or define of whom consist the hostile party. No expression of regret has escaped them in regard to the enormous



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outrages and insults enacting in the Inland Sea ; no assurances that they shall cease ; nay, further, when questioned recently by my colleague of France as to the course which would probably be pursued by the Tycoon upon hearing of the outrages which had been committed, the Envoy replied that the Prince of Nagato might very probably have been ordered to fire upon all foreign ships, and that in such case his conduct would be approved, and that, therefore, the Tycoon would be bound to assent to such approval, at least in appearance. Steam-ships and munitions of war continue to be purchased by the Tycoon's Government. Troops are conveyed to Ôzaka, for the ostensible purpose of protecting the Tycoon himself, but it is not said against what enemies. In general, all confidence with foreign Representatives is withheld.

“Amidst these conflicting facts and perplexing circumstances, your Lordship will readily conceive that I cannot possibly or with prudence lay down for my guidance any very defined course of action with respect to the contending parties in Japan. So long as trade is uninterrupted and the settlements unmolested, I will not evoke or forcedly precipitate the dubious action of the Tycoon's Government at Yedo, until, at least, it is indubitably hostile.”

It was no doubt at that period, especially owing to the isolation in which foreigners lived, most difficult to ascertain the true state of affairs, and to reconcile seeming contradictions, but I think it is quite clear now that the shôgun's ministers were sincere when they said that the Mikado's edict of expulsion, though conveyed to the Representatives as a matter of obligation, would, in fact, be nothing but a dead letter.

The shôgun's ministers, too, were justified in saying that the Prince of Chôshiu had probably been ordered to fire upon all foreign ships. Such an order would be transmitted from the Court through the shôgun to the daimio, and it was part of the general scheme still harboured in Kiôto.

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## CHAPTER XX.

1863.—AUGUST.

Completion of Preparations for Expedition to Satsuma.—Sailing of Squadron, and arrival at Kagoshima.—Fruitless Conferences.—Three Steamers taken as Reprisals.—The Japanese open fire.—Bombardment and Burning of part of the Town.—Return of Squadron to Yokohama.—Approval of Her Majesty's Government. — Native Account. — Consequent change of Policy of Satsuma Clan.

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Completion  
of prepara-  
tions for  
expedition  
to Satsuma.  
Rôjiu  
informed.

THE preparations for the expedition to the territory of Satsuma to exact the remaining reparation demanded by Great Britain for the murder of Mr. Richardson and the wounding of his companions were now complete, and Colonel Neale informed the rôjiu on the 3rd of August, that within the period of three days he would proceed with a large portion of the squadron, under the command of Vice-Admiral Kuper, to that territory, to prefer the demands of her Majesty's government, and to adopt coercive measures against the Prince of Satsuma, should he refuse to comply with those demands, or should himself adopt a hostile attitude from the forts and batteries he assumed the independent right to erect.

Colonel Neale again requested the Ministers to take

the commands of the shôgun, in respect to sending a  
 functionary of the government on board the squadron,  
 to accompany it to Satsuma. CHAP.  
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In the answer received from their Excellencies, dated the following day, they say that, owing to the unsettled state of affairs in the Empire, they are in great trouble, and intend to carry out several plans. "Supposing, now," they continue, "something untoward were to happen, then all trouble and care both you and we have taken will have been in vain and fruitless; therefore we request the said departure may be delayed for the present."

The time for delay had, however, passed. The rôjiu apparently were aware of this, for they sent down a vice-minister from Yedo, who saw the British Chargé d'affaires on the 5th, and far from urging any further arguments to dissuade him from proceeding to the territory of Satsuma, stated that the shôgun's government proposed sending a Japanese steamer, with a high official on board, to accompany the squadron. No steamer, however, appeared then, or at any subsequent period.

The squadron, consisting of her Majesty's ships "Euryalus," "Pearl," "Perseus," "Argus," "Coquette," "Racehorse," and "Havoc," weighed from its anchorage at Yokohama on the 6th of August. The squadron sets sail.

I will now quote from Colonel Neale's despatch of the 26th of the same month.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.*

[Extract.]

"I was accompanied by most of the members of her Majesty's Legation, distributed over her Majesty's Colonel Neale's report.

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ships—their more or less proficiency in the Japanese language, it was deemed, might be highly useful, and the result has confirmed this expectation.

Arrival at  
the entrance  
of the Bay of  
Kagoshima.

“Under easy steam and sail, her Majesty’s squadron reached the entrance of the Bay of Kagoshima on the evening of the 11th instant, and anchoring ground was found about 10 p.m., after some difficulty, in the extreme depth of water which was found generally to prevail in that noble bay.

Officials  
come on  
board.

“Early in the morning of the ensuing day the first boat, containing two officials, came off from the shore to the flag-ship. They inquired the nationality of the ships, whether it was our intention to proceed further into the bay, whether a native pilot was on board, what number of guns the ship carried, and other questions of this nature, which having been replied to, the boat returned to Kagoshima.

“Her Majesty’s squadron, a few hours afterwards, weighed and cast anchor off the batteries of the town. A second boat, with four other officials, came off immediately to the flag-ship, and stated that it was understood to be the intention to deliver a letter addressed to the Prince of Satsuma.”

Letter from  
Colonel  
Neale to the  
Prince of  
Satsuma.

This letter, originally dated August 1st, stated the circumstances of the attack on the 14th of the previous September, the appeal to the shôgun’s government to arrest and bring to capital punishment the guilty men, and the fruitless promises received in return. The letter continued by saying that Colonel Neale had reported to her Majesty’s government that, removed in his distant domain from the direct influence of the Japanese government (as it was still supposed to be), and shielded by certain privileges

and immunities belonging to daimios of the Empire, the prince had utterly disregarded all orders or decrees calling upon him to afford justice by sending the real criminals to Yedo.

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After recounting the instructions he had received, and the satisfaction he had obtained from the bakufu by the payment of a considerable indemnity and by a written apology, Colonel Neale stated that he had to make the following demands :—

First. The immediate trial and execution, in the presence of one or more of her Majesty's naval officers, of the chief perpetrators of the murder of Mr. Richardson, and of the murderous assault upon the lady and the gentlemen who accompanied him.

Secondly. The payment of £25,000 sterling, to be distributed to the relations of the murdered man, and to those who escaped with their lives the swords of the assassins on that occasion.

If these demands were refused, the Admiral commanding the British naval forces in those seas was to adopt such coercive measures as he might deem expedient, to obtain the required satisfaction.

A few hours later the officials, who took on shore this letter, together with a supplementary one announcing the arrival of the squadron, returned, and stated that the Prince of Satsuma was not at Kagoshima, but at a residence inland, about fifty miles distant. Colonel Neale and Admiral Kuper were then invited to go on shore, and meet the members of the prince's "council" in a building specially prepared for the reception of foreigners. Great anxiety was evinced that this request should be acceded to, the officials urging that it would be impossible to commit to writing all that might be discussed. Colonel

Answer  
that the  
prince is in  
the country.

Invitation  
to Colonel  
Neale and  
Admiral  
Kuper to  
land  
refused.



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Neale replied, with the full concurrence of the Admiral, that the business which had brought them to Kagoshima was fully set forth in his letter to the prince, drawn up in English, Japanese, and Dutch, and, to the evident disappointment of the officials, the *Chargé d'affaires* and the Admiral declined to land. If they had landed, they would hardly have escaped with their lives.

August 13.  
Visit of  
a high  
official with  
armed men.  
Any  
attempt at  
assassina-  
tion frus-  
trated.

On the 13th several officials, one of whom was stated to be of superior rank, again came alongside the flag-shig, accompanied by a number of armed men in several boats. They entered into a long parley before coming on board, and requested to know whether Colonel Neale would personally receive the high official. Of this they were assured. They then requested permission for him to be accompanied by at least forty of his retinue. This was acceded to by the Admiral, who at the same time directed a guard of marines to be drawn up, with fixed bayonets, facing the gangway by which the Japanese entered.

It was fortunate, indeed, that Admiral Kuper adopted the above precaution, for I have been told, upon what I believe to be excellent authority, that it was intended that these forty men should, if an opportunity presented itself, attack and attempt to kill the Admiral, the British Representative, and as many more of the hated foreigners as was found possible. However, upon reaching the deck, they were disposed of in single file along the line of guns, and at once assumed the squatting position natural to Japanese. The high official then decided upon ascending the ship's side.

"I received him," Colonel Neale continues, "the Admiral being present, when he exhibited the utmost agitation and confusion; he was speechless: when one

of his attendant officers stated that he was charged to speak for his chief, and that he had to inform me that he was the bearer of the written reply to my despatch, but that they had some serious matters to add in connection with it.

“No sooner had he proceeded thus far, when it was found that a boat waving a flag had reached the ship, and communicated something, which, when made known to the chief official, caused him to rise suddenly, and leave the cabin, return to it, and leave it again. Finally, I was informed by him that he must return to the shore immediately, as he had received a message to the effect that a mistake had been made in the despatch, which must be rectified; upon which he hurriedly left with the undelivered despatch, if, indeed, he had been the bearer of such.

“During the interval occupied by the communications the batteries on shore were constantly manned, and the guns diligently trained and pointed at the ships of the squadron, and especially on the flag-ship, the whole of them being within range. Batteries are manned.

“These and other suspicious circumstances induced the Admiral to determine upon shifting the anchorage of the squadron to as convenient a position, though still partially within range, as the extreme depth of the water would admit. Admiral shifts anchorage.

“As the Japanese officials were descending the ship’s side, the anchors of the squadron were weighing.

“Contrary to my expectation, the official here referred to returned late in the evening to the flag-ship, at the new anchorage, and delivered into my hands the answer to my despatch preferring the demands.”

The following is a translation of the answer :—

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*Kawakami Tajima, Minister of the Prince of  
Satsuma, to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.*

[Translation.]

Unsatisfac-  
tory answer  
from  
Satsuma's  
minister.

"It is just that a man who has killed another should be arrested and punished by death, as there is nothing more sacred than human life, and although we should like to secure them (the murderers), as we have endeavoured to do so since last year, it is impossible for us to do so, owing to the political differences at present existing between the daimios of Japan, some of whom even hide and protect such people: besides this, the murderers are not one, but several persons, and therefore find easier means of escape.

"The journey to Yedo (undertaken by Shimadzu Saburô) was not with the object of committing murders, but to conciliate the two Courts of Yedo and Kiôto: and you will easily, therefore, believe that our master (Shimadzu) could not have ordered it (the murder). Great offenders against the laws of their country (Japan), who escape, are liable to capital punishment. If, therefore, we can detect those in question, and, after examination, find them to be guilty, they shall be punished, and we will then inform the commanders of your men-of-war at Nagasaki, or at Yokohama, in order that they may come to witness their execution. You must, therefore, consent to the unavoidable delay which is necessary to carry out these measures. If we were to execute criminals condemned for other offences, and told you that they were the offenders (above referred to), you would not be able to recognize them; and this would be deceiving you, and not acting in accordance with the spirit of our ancestors.

“The (Provincial) governments of Japan are subordinate to the Yedo Government, and, as you are well aware, are subservient to the orders received from it.

“We have heard something about a treaty having been negotiated in which a certain limit was assigned to foreigners to move about in ; but we have not heard of any stipulation by which they are authorized to impede the passage of a road.

“Supposing this happened in your country, traveling with a large number of retainers as we do here, would you not chastise (push out of the way and beat) any one thus disregarding and breaking the existing laws of the country ? If this were neglected, princes could no longer travel. We repeat that we agree with you that the taking of human life is a very grave matter. On the other hand, the insufficiency of the Yedo Government, who govern and direct everything, is shown by their neglecting to insert in the treaty (with foreigners) the laws of the country (in respect to these matters) which have existed from ancient times. You will, therefore, be able to judge yourself whether the Yedo Government (for not inserting these laws) or my master (for carrying them out) be blamed.

“To decide on this important matter, a high official of the Yedo Government, and one of our Government, ought to discuss it before you, and find out who is in the right.

“After the above question has thus been judged and settled, the money indemnity shall be arranged.

“We have not received from the Tycoon any orders or communications by steamer that your men-of-war were coming here. Such statements are probably made with the object of representing us in a bad light. If it were not with this object, you would certainly have

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them in writing from the Gorôjiu; and if so, we request you to let us see them.

"In consequence of such misstatements great misunderstandings are caused.

"All this surprises us much. Does it surprise you?

"Our government acts in everything according to the orders of the Yedo Government.

"This is our open-hearted reply to the different subjects mentioned in your despatch.

"29th day of the 6th month of the 3rd year of Bunkiu (13th August, 1863).

(Signed) "KAWAKAMI TAJIMA SHISSEI (*Minister*)."

The idea that the murderers could not be secured is ridiculous.

The idea that the murderer or murderers could not be secured is of course simply ridiculous; every man belonging to the military class in Kagoshima could have put his hand upon him or them at once, but we can well understand that at this period the haughty Satsuma clan would scorn the notion of giving up a man who had naturally obeyed the orders of his chief, and had cut down a foreigner who dared to remain on horseback whilst the train was passing, instead of getting off and prostrating himself in the dust whilst the noble's litter was carried past him.

Colonel Neale, of course, deemed the reply to this letter to be entirely unsatisfactory. And so it was. As he says, it raised the question whether, according to the laws of Japan, a daimio travelling with his retinue is not fully justified in beating or thrusting off the road all persons who encounter him on the highway, *i.e.* who will not prostrate themselves on the side of the road whilst the train proceeds slowly by. How many times has not this obeisance been accorded to myself in my various journeys in different parts of Japan! How many



times have I not walked, ridden, or been carried through towns and villages where, at the bidding of the officials of the place, the inhabitants, who had turned out of their houses to see the extraordinary sight of a "barbarian" traversing their land, have been ranged in two rows along the streets, in the squatting position, and many even bowing their heads to the ground as I passed along! And when my little train had cleared the houses, and we were continuing our journey along the high road, many a time have the officials accompanied me, and with their quaint cry of *Shita ni iro*, "Down with you," have forced the peasants to halt, and to bow the knee and the head before the stranger who was travelling as a native of rank always travelled.

I mention this not in any way to throw doubt on the policy of England, but with the object, as far as possible, and at the risk of some repetition, of giving an insight into the feelings of the Japanese at that period, and of showing how their peculiar customs and the fact of their classing the foreigner, as they certainly did, with their own unarmed and despised classes, led the haughty *samurai* to treat him as they can now no longer venture to do.

The reply of the Satsuma officials also, as Colonel Neale writes, raised the question whether or not the shôgun was free from blame for not having inserted in the treaty the assumed privileges of the travelling daimio. The poor shôgunate, when it was surprised and frightened into the treaties, never gave a thought to daimio's privileges, nor could we have recognized such as were claimed, even if it had.

It should also be recorded that, in one of the interviews between the British Chargé d'affaires and Satsuma officials, the latter stated that the shôgun's

Further  
arguments  
of the  
Satsuma  
officials.



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guardian (Hitotsūbashi) and two members of the rôjiu had distinctly ordered Shimadzu Saburô, when at Kiôto, not to take any steps respecting the attack upon foreigners on the tôkaidô by his retainers, because the bakufu would settle that matter themselves, and that the Prince of Satsuma was obliged to obey these instructions ; also, that all particulars of the attack had been duly reported to the rôjiu, who understood them perfectly ; that the local officials therefore supposed that the whole question had been settled at Yedo ; that, according to Japanese law, they could not settle it themselves, nor could they either accept or refuse the demands, as all must be referred to the bakufu ; that since the beginning of the year they had heard nothing from Yedo on this subject, and that, therefore, when our men-of-war appeared off Kagoshima, they could not imagine what had brought them.

These officials therefore sheltered themselves, as was convenient in this instance, under the plea that their Principality was in subjection to the government of the shôgun. And so it was, *nominally*.

There now remained nothing for Colonel Neale but to call upon Admiral Kuper at once to resort to such preliminary measures of coercion, by reprisals or otherwise, as he might deem most expedient, and best calculated to arouse the Prince of Satsuma to a sense of the serious nature of the expedition.

The Admiral proceeded to action, and here let him speak for himself :—

“I immediately directed Captain Borlase, of the ‘Pearl,’ to proceed at daylight on the following morning with a portion of the squádrón, to a bay to the northward of Kagoshima, for the purpose of seizing and bringing to our anchorage three steamers, the

Three  
steamers  
taken as  
reprisals.

property of the prince, which had been previously ascertained to be lying there; Captain Borlase was also desired to avoid, as much as possible, all unnecessary bloodshed or active hostility. This service was executed with much zeal and discretion by Captain Borlase; and the three steamers mentioned in the margin\* arrived at the anchorage during the forenoon of the 15th instant, lashed alongside three of her Majesty's ships: the object I had in view being the detention of these vessels as reprisals until such time as the Prince of Satsuma should either comply with the demands made upon him, or should make advances with a view to their settlement.

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"These considerations were, however, suddenly and unexpectedly set aside by the assumption of hostilities on the part of the Japanese; for at noon of the same day, the batteries opened fire with shot and shell on the squadron, an act which it became necessary immediately to resent, in vindication of the honour of the flag, and as a punishment for the outrage; and as it was impossible for the small force at my command to carry out the requisite operations, and at the same time to retain possession of the three steamers in question, I gave orders that they should be set on fire and destroyed, which was accordingly done.

August 15.  
The Japanese open fire.

Steamers destroyed.

"The squadron then, as you are aware, proceeded to engage the batteries on Kagoshima, advancing in line of battle (the 'Euryalus' leading) from the northernmost battery, along the whole line, and finally attacking the southernmost or spit battery, after which I deemed it advisable, in order to ensure the safety of

Engagement.

\* "England," screw, 759 tons, 125,000 dollars purchase;  
"Sir George Grey," screw, 492 tons, 85,000 dollars purchase;  
"Contest," screw, 350 tons, 95,000 dollars purchase.

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her Majesty's ships, to direct them to seek an anchorage, the weather, which had been threatening for a gale, becoming at this time most unfavourable ; and, as night was approaching, the signal was made to discontinue the action, and the squadron returned to an anchorage under Sakurajima.\*

"It was impossible to ascertain precisely the extent of the injury inflicted upon the batteries ; but, considering the heavy fire which was kept up from the ships, at point-blank range, the effect must have been considerable. Many guns were observed to be dismounted, the batteries were several times cleared, and the explosion of various magazines gave evidence of the destructive effects of our shell ; one half of the town was in flames and entirely destroyed, as well as a very extensive arsenal or factory, and gun-foundry, and five large Loo-Choo junks, the property of the prince, in addition to the three steamers already described.

Batteries  
several  
times  
cleared.  
Part of  
town burnt.

"A heavy typhoon blew during the night, and the conflagration increasing in proportion to the height of the storm, illuminated the entire bay.

"On the following afternoon, the gale having moderated, and as I deemed it necessary to remove the squadron to a safer anchorage than the great depth of water opposite Kagoshima afforded, and having also observed the Japanese at work erecting batteries on the hill immediately above the little bay where the small vessels were at anchor, close to the shore, we weighed, and, passing in line between the batteries of Kagoshima, steamed out and anchored to the southward of the island. This opportunity was taken advantage of to shell the batteries on the

\* Sakurajima (Cherry Island) is an island, with a high volcanic peak, on the right-hand side of a ship entering the bay.

Sakurajima side, which had not been previously engaged, and also the palace of the prince in Kagoshima. These operations were attended with complete success; there is every reason to suppose that the palace has been destroyed, as many shell were seen to burst in it, and the fire, which is still raging, affords reasonable ground for believing that the entire town of Kagoshima is now a mass of ruins.

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“Thus having accomplished every act of retribution and punishment within the scope of operations of a small naval force, and having received from yourself the verbal expression of your satisfaction with the extent of these operations, I purpose returning with the squadron to Yokohama, immediately the partial refit which is now in progress shall admit of our putting to sea.”

The Japanese, finding every attempt unavailing to coax the British officials on shore, or to murder them on board ship, thus took advantage of a violent wind to open fire on the squadron. The result was in one respect to be deplored, for our loss was not inconsiderable, and included Captains Josling and Wilmot, of the flag-ship, who were killed.

The squadron returned to Yokohama, and reached that anchorage on the 24th of August. Colonel Neale, in the concluding paragraph of his report, pays the following just tribute to the services of the gentlemen belonging to her Majesty's legation, who accompanied the expedition.

August 24.  
Return of  
squadron to  
Yokohama.

Tribute to  
services of  
members of  
the lega-  
tion.

“In conclusion, I trust your Lordship will pardon me if I do not resist the natural impulse of desiring to bring under your Lordship's notice the special and unlooked-for services rendered on the occasion of the expedition to Satsuma of Messrs. Eusden, Gower,

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Macdonald, Willis, Fletcher, Von Siebold, and Satow, of this legation. In their absence all communications with the shore at Kagoshima must have failed. Interpreters from the shore were held back and never appeared; an attempt to impede all explanations rendered nugatory by a ready knowledge of their own language, which they found on board. Nor shall I have accomplished my duty were I to omit to solicit your Lordship's favourable notice to the devotion with which these members of her Majesty's Civil Service exposed themselves to the anticipated perils of naval combat, unaccompanied by any ostensible prospect of the ordinary honours and rewards attending the exposure of life in the profession of arms."

The approval by her Majesty's government of the proceedings of Colonel Neale, and of Admiral Kuper, is contained in the following extract of a despatch from Lord Russell to Colonel Neale, dated November 10th, 1863:—

Approval  
of H. M.'s  
govern-  
ment.

"In my despatch of the 24th December, 1862, I directed you to obtain reparation for the murder of Mr. Richardson, and the murderous assault on a lady and two gentlemen who, with Mr. Richardson, were riding on a public road open by treaty, and who drew up on the side of the road to allow the relations and retainers of a great daimio to pass. For this barbarous and unprovoked attack you were directed to require from the Government of the Tycoon the payment of £100,000, and an ample apology. You were further directed to require from the Prince of Satsuma the execution of the actual murderers, and the payment of £25,000 as indemnity to the relatives of the murdered man and to the sufferers from the murderous assault.



“With respect to the Tycoon’s Government, the demands you were instructed to make have been complied with. The sum of £100,000 has been paid, and a satisfactory apology has been made by the Tycoon’s Ministers.

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“Her Majesty has been pleased, in testimony of the patience, good temper, and firmness with which you conducted this negotiation, to confer upon you the Companionship of the Order of the Bath.

“The accomplishment of the remainder of your instructions has been found more difficult. Ten months having elapsed without the trial or even the arrest of the murderers, you thought yourself under the necessity to ask the assistance of Admiral Kuper, and to proceed with him to Kagoshima, the capital of the Prince of Satsuma.

“In your letters of August 1st and August 12th, both delivered on the 12th, you communicated to the Minister of the Prince of Satsuma the demands you were instructed to make.

“In the answer of the Minister of the Prince of Satsuma, dated the 13th of August, it is stated that it is just that a man who has killed another should be arrested and punished by death; that if the murderers in question can be detected, they shall be punished; and that it is not right to impede the passage of a chief with a large body of retainers on a public road.

“These answers, in reference to a murder committed by the retainers of the Prince in full daylight, ten months before, upon a person who had not in any way impeded the passage of a public road, showed a fixed determination to afford no redress. Vice-Admiral Kuper then directed that three steamers belonging to



the prince should be taken and detained by way of reprisals. But before any further communication could take place, hostilities were commenced by the Japanese, and her Majesty's ships were fired upon from the batteries with shot and shell—an act which it became necessary immediately to resent. The steamers taken were burnt. The batteries were fired upon from point-blank range; many guns were dismounted and various magazines exploded.

“It is much to be lamented that, as the batteries were apparently situated in and about the town, the consequence of firing with shot and shell upon the batteries and magazines should have been to set fire to the town, which Admiral Kuper says has been burnt. Many innocent persons have thus unfortunately been injured.

“At the same time it is obvious that if Admiral Kuper had not returned the fire of the batteries, her Majesty's squadron would have suffered a defeat, and fresh murders of British subjects by the cruel and insolent daimios would have been perpetrated.

“Her Majesty will express, through the proper department, her admiration of the gallantry of her naval forces.

“It is my duty to request you to express to the civil servants of the Crown who accompanied you her Majesty's approbation of their coolness and courage. Their knowledge of the Japanese language was no doubt of great value, both to you and to the naval commander-in-chief.

“For the present the situation appears to be this. The Yedo Government, who, in the terms of the despatch of the Prince of Satsuma's Minister, ‘govern and direct everything,’ have made and ratified treaties

of commerce with Great Britain and other European powers.

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“These treaties have proved very advantageous to the main body of the Japanese people, who feel the benefits of a profitable trade with foreigners, and wish that trade to continue. But a powerful feudal aristocracy, finding silk and rice, and other produce, dearer in the market, and their own privileges less valuable, wish to expel all foreigners, and have obtained a decree from the Mikado to that effect. French, American, and Dutch ships have been fired upon with a view to accomplish this object. But the European nations cannot submit to be thus deprived of an intercourse sanctioned by treaty, and very beneficial to the mass of the Japanese nations, as well as to European nations.

“You will, therefore, call upon the Admiral in any cases where British persons, ships, or property are attacked, to resent such outrage.

“In this way security for the time may be obtained. But I must wait for your further accounts before complete instructions can be given as to our policy in Japan.”

It may be interesting to compare the account of the events at Kagoshima given by the *Genji yumé monogatari* with that in the Blue Book. It reads thus in translation :—

Native  
account of  
the engage-  
ment.

“Towards the middle of August eight English men-of-war made an expedition to Kagoshima in Satsuma. They came to negotiate the payment of thirty thousand dollars as compensation to the wives and children of the persons killed at Namamugimura in Musashi in the month of September of the previous year. The Prince of Satsuma replied that the indi-

viduals in question, having been guilty of rudeness, had been punished in accordance with the laws of the Empire, and that, as for his country, no indemnity would be paid by it, at least.

“On the morning \* of the 12th of August, therefore, when the men-of-war advanced, the Satsuma clansmen could not restrain their ardour and impatience. The wind and rain were very violent this day, which they looked upon as a special favour from heaven, and joyfully therefore they fired several shots from the batteries which lined the shore. The barbarian vessels fired several shots, and engaged. The combat lasted the whole day, and the *Shiusei Kuan* † was burnt by the shells fired from the barbarian ships. Although the Satsuma clan thus lost many killed and wounded, the ships were terribly knocked about by their fire, and two persons called Captain Josling and Commander Wilmot were killed. Besides these, the enemy lost more than sixty killed and wounded. The Satsuma clan became more and more enthusiastic. All the intrepid *samurai* of the province hastened to the spot, and exhausted their efforts in pouring forth an unceasing fire. The noise of the cannon re-echoed among the hills and valleys, and the sea seemed to boil over. The land and the sea strove together like a couple of bulls, until the robber vessels, unable to endure it any longer, were entirely defeated, and fled in disorder to the ocean.

“When these affairs were reported to the Imperial Court, letters of approval were sent to the clans of Satsuma and Chôshiu. The bakufu, however, was in-

\* The author is a little out. The bombardment took place on the 15th of August.

† The factories are probably meant.

tensely alarmed at these performances, and, determined at any rate to go on delaying, issued a notification to all the clans, saying that, as the negotiations at Yokohama had not yet been concluded, and it could not be said yet whether the barbarians would submit or not, our side should abstain for the present from proceeding to hostilities. On hearing this, the patriots became more and more indignant, and vowed that it was now necessary to seize the phoenix car and get the Mikado to fight in person."

One or two remarks must be made with reference to the bombardment of Kagoshima. The town is divided into two parts, the official and the mercantile quarter. It was, unfortunately, the latter which was bombarded by our ships, and the building mistaken for the palace was a temple in a conspicuous and elevated spot. It is approached by a number of steps, and when I was there in January, 1871, it was used by the English Doctor Willis, formerly belonging to the British legation, as a lecture-room for the medical students, and a school where boys were taught spelling, English grammar, and arithmetic. The loss of life does not appear to have been great on the Japanese side, so many of the peaceful inhabitants having fled away to the country. From information obtained from the agents of the Prince of Satsuma, when the indemnity was paid in December, 1863, as hereafter mentioned, it appears that the news of the expedition had reached Kagoshima from Nagasaki previous to its arrival, and the prince had ordered the inhabitants to retire into the country. These agents also admitted that advantage was taken of a coming storm of wind to fire on the squadron, and that it was the wind and the absence of the population that caused the extent of the conflagra-

Mercantile  
quarter  
which was  
burnt.  
Not the  
palace, but a  
temple.

Loss of life  
small.

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tion. They further said that when the squadron took the steamers a man was despatched on horseback at full speed to enquire of the prince what course should be pursued, and that the answer which was given in his name was that the batteries should immediately open fire. There appear to have been reserves of soldiers kept outside the batteries, who showed reluctance to supply the place of the killed. It is a satisfaction to think that the loss of life seems clearly to have been almost, if not entirely, confined to the military.

Change of  
policy of  
Satsuma  
clan.

But one thing is certain, and is acknowledged by every Satsuma man, namely, that whatever was the true account of the action, the bombardment of Kagoshima was the turning-point as far as that powerful clan was concerned. It was then that the men belonging to the military class in Satsuma first became convinced that Japan was not the strongest country in the world, and that there were other nations more powerful and more civilized. It was from that time that they began to cease to look down upon foreigners with contempt, and henceforward their principality began, as they express it, to be "opened." They subsequently took the lead in introducing European machinery and inventions, and in employing skilled Europeans to teach them, and they became fired with a desire to rival foreign nations in the arts of civilization and peace, as well as in the art of war.

## CHAPTER XXI.

1863.

Attack on a Bakufu Steamer by Chôshiu Men.—Attempt to close Yokohama and transfer the Foreign Trade to Nagasaki and Hakodaté.—Withdrawal of Note as to closing the Ports.—Arrival of Satsuma Envoys at Yokohama.—Payment of the Indemnity and Termination of the Richardson Affair.

ABOUT the autumn of this year the bakufu appear to have been impressed with the increased authority of the Court, and the diminution of their own prestige. With a view of raising the latter, they despatched the shôgun's aide-de-camp, Makino Sakon, together with two officials named Murakami Motomé and Nakané Ichinojô, on a secret mission to the western provinces and to Kiushiu. They were accompanied by two spies, and two hundred men. They all embarked on board the steamer *Choyo-maru*, and arrived at Nakatsu, in the province of Buzen, on the 4th of September. From there they took two pilots belonging to the Kokura clan, in the island of Kiushiu, and as they were passing the Straits of Shimonoséki on their way to Kokura, the fort built at Tanôura by the Prince of Chôshiu fired on the steamer. A message was sent on shore to say that she was a vessel belonging to the bakufu, but the Chôshiu men replied that any vessel of

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Mission of  
bakufu  
officials to  
western  
provinces  
and  
Kiushiu.

Their  
steamer  
fired upon in  
the Straits  
of Shimonoséki by  
Chôshiu  
men,  
boarded,  
and  
detained.



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barbarian construction, whether Japanese or not, would be fired at and destroyed. The rejoinder to this was that Sakon and Motomé were going to examine into the state of things in Kiushiu, and that Ichinojô had come on a mission to the Môri (Chôshiu) family. The others thereupon said that if such was the case, they had better bring their vessel round to the coast of Chôshiu. So they steamed in that direction, when suddenly all the forts opened fire upon them. A large body of men, all clad in armour, with a flag on which the legend "in obedience to the order" (expulsion of barbarians) was inscribed, were drawn up on the shore, and many rushed on board brandishing naked swords and spears, to search for the Kokura men, who thereupon committed *hara kiri*. The Chôshiu men were doubtless enraged against the Kokura clan for having given no assistance in the fights with foreign ships.

Indignation  
of the  
bakufu.

This expedition resulted in the stopping of the steamer; the two spies were forced to land, and were subsequently assassinated by *rônins*. Motomé and Sakon went over to Kiushiu, and after inquiring into the condition of affairs in all the castle towns of the island, they returned about the end of the month to Yedo. There the details of the insolent conduct of the retainers of Chôshiu caused great indignation, and it was felt that the prestige of the shôgun<sup>te</sup>, instead of being raised, had sunk still lower.

We here see a commencement of serious disputes between the Chôshiu clan and the shôgun.

Serious  
situation  
of affairs.

The situation of affairs with respect to foreigners was still very serious, and was so depicted by Colonel Neale at the end of September. Internal disputes and attacks on the shôgun's authority were rife, and at the

same time the letter addressed by the Yedo government to the Representatives, conveying the Mikado's desire that foreigners should be expelled, remained uncanceled. There was much obstruction to trade with native merchants, some of whom had even left Yokohama. Great activity prevailed, both on the side of the shôgun's government and of the agents of daimios hostile to him, to obtain cannon, rifles, and munitions of war. The navigation of the Inland Sea was obstructed, batteries being erected there, as well as at Yedo, Uruga, and elsewhere.

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On the part of the bakufu there was an ominous and alarming silence. No knowledge was conveyed to the Representatives of the hopes or fears entertained by it with regard to the situation of foreigners; nor can this be wondered at, considering the embarrassed position of that government.

Ominous  
silence of  
bakufu.

On the 14th of October another cowardly murder took place. Lieutenant de Camus, of the 3rd battalion of the Chasseurs d'Afrique, was riding out on a country road near Yokohama, generally considered to be secure, when he was killed, no doubt by Japanese. He was unfortunately alone, and no trace of the assassin or assassins has ever been brought to light. He was totally unarmed. His body, which was conveyed to Yokohama, accompanied by the French and English escorts, several of the consular body, and some members of the community, was frightfully mutilated by sabre cuts, any one of which would have proved mortal.

October 14.  
Murder of  
Lieutenant  
de Camus.

On the 21st of October Colonel Neale again addressed the Yedo government, complaining that his demands on Satsuma had not been satisfied, and more correspondence ensued, without leading to any result.

Further  
correspond-  
ence re-  
specting the  
demands on  
Satsuma.

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United  
States'  
Envoy and  
Dutch Consul-general  
proceed to  
Yedo by  
invitation  
of the rôjiu.

The United States' Envoy and the Dutch Consul-general were now requested to proceed to Yedo, for the purpose of holding an interview with the members of the highest council, when an important communication would be made to them. It was evident that the business was of no ordinary character, for the rôjiu had even first proposed that some of their members should go down to Yokohama, a means of communication which they had never before adopted, but subsequently they expressed the wish that the interview should take place at the capital, as it was very desirable in their opinion that all the highest ministers should be present.

Mr. Pruyn and M. de Graeff van Polsbroek accordingly proceeded to Yedo, and, on the 26th of October, held an interview with the assembled ministers at a building adjoining the landing-place, and not within the city at the residence of the ministers for foreign affairs, as had been the custom. This circumstance seemed to imply that the foreign Representatives were even to be denied admittance into the so-called official quarter of the city.

Request to  
have Yokohama  
closed and the  
trade transferred  
to Nagasaki  
and Hakodaté.

What passed at this interview was communicated on their return by the two diplomatic agents to their colleagues of England and France.

*Communication made to the Minister of the United States and the Consul-General of the Netherlands by the Gorôjiu, in the presence of the Members of the Second Council, the Governors for Foreign Affairs, and other officials of rank, at Yedo, on the 26th of October, 1863.*

“The Japanese Government being extremely desirous that the friendship between the United States

and Holland with Japan should not be interrupted, has invited you, as the Representatives of these powers, to this conference for the purpose of making an important communication, and this important communication will render many conferences necessary, in order that you should hear all its reasons and be fully acquainted with its views, and we, the Gorôjiu, have therefore appointed two Commissioners for this purpose, namely, Takémoto Kai no Kami and Ikido Shinri.

“The unsettled state of things in our realm is increasing; we are apparently approaching a revolution; there may be a general uprising among the people, who hate foreigners; and to our shame we must confess that we have no power to suppress this insurrectionary movement.

“It is principally owing to the opening of Yokohama to trade that this deplorable state of things exists.

“If a continuance of trade at Yokohama be persisted in, this state of affairs will grow worse; trade will suffer and no doubt disappear in consequence, and then the friendship will be destroyed. It was to establish friendly relations that the treaties were made, as may be seen in the heading to each of them.

“Friendship is the corner-stone; trade is subordinate to friendship. We have always considered that the framers of the treaty intended it as an experiment, to last as long as it would not prove injurious to Japan.

“In order to perpetuate this friendship it is of the highest mutual interest that the port of Yokohama be closed to trade, and in our opinion this is the only way to allay the prevailing excitement.

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"We request you to inform your Governments that the notification of Ogasawara Dzushô no Kami relating to the expulsion of foreigners will be withdrawn, and to ask their consent to have the trade transferred to Nagasaki and Hakodaté.

"We do not desire any further alteration in the Treaty."

British and French Representatives decline a similar conference.

This proposal of course met with no success, and similar invitations to a conference at Yedo having been sent to the British and French Representatives, they naturally, after perusing the above document, declined the invitation.

But not long after the above incident, the Japanese ministers again astonished the Representatives, this time indeed, agreeably, by sending a fresh communication to them. It was dated the 12th of November, and said:—

Request for return of Ogasawara's despatch as to closing the ports.

"As our government has, for the present, changed its former policy, we request you to return to us the despatch which Ogasawara Dzushô no Kami addressed to you when he was still in office, regarding the closing of the ports."

Colonel Neale expressed his satisfaction in writing at this change, and stated that he considered Ogasawara's letter to be accordingly withdrawn and cancelled.

Arrival of two Envoys from Satsuma.

About the same time two Envoys from the Prince of Satsuma arrived at Yokohama, and were received by the British Chargé d'affaires, being accompanied by two officials of the Yedo government. After protracted discussions extending over three days, it was agreed to make immediate payment of the indemnity demanded, and an engagement in writing was signed



by the Japanese that the Satsuma government would continue a diligent search for Mr. Richardson's murderers, who, when found, should suffer capital punishment in the presence of one or more members of the British legation.

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The following despatch and its enclosures, extracted from the papers (Japan, No. 2) presented to Parliament in 1864, shows the payment of the indemnity and the termination of the affair :—

Correspondence showing payment of indemnity and termination of affair.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.*

"MY LORD,                      "*Yokohama, December 17th, 1863.*

"By the mail which left this on the 2nd instant, I had the honour to acquaint your Lordship that the Envoys of the Prince of Satsuma had failed to carry out the arrangements which had been agreed upon. It now affords me extreme satisfaction to state that the whole of the stipulations have been definitely settled and determined.

"On the 9th instant the Envoys returned from Yedo to Yokohama, and held an interview with me lasting several hours, at which endeavours were resorted to on their part to soften and smooth down the terms and circumstances under which the demands were originally preferred by me upon the Prince of Satsuma, in accordance with my instructions. They desired that the money which they were about to pay over to me should be considered in the light of a deposit, the absolute payment of which might take place hereafter, and that they accordingly only required a simple or temporary receipt. These obstacles and objections, pertinaciously urged during some hours, were utterly



rejected by me, and as good-humouredly one by one abandoned by the Envoys. The indemnity money was brought to the legation and the sum of 100,000 dollars duly paid, that sum being the equivalent of £25,000 sterling at the current rate of exchange. It will, I trust, be obvious to your Lordship that I could hardly have imposed other terms in respect to the value of the dollar.

“While the money was in course of counting and of shroffing, I received from the Envoys a written engagement in respect to the pursuit, and execution when arrested, of the principal perpetrators of the murder of Mr. Richardson. Your Lordship will observe that this document, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, is countersigned by two of the Tycoon’s officers as attesting witnesses. The agents of Satsuma now expressed a desire that I should furnish them with a written promise to facilitate the purchase of a ship of war in England. I saw no material objection to this, if the terms in which such promise was conveyed were expressed with a view to all contingencies, and I accordingly furnished them with a memorandum, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, and with which they expressed themselves entirely satisfied.

“Thus, my Lord, I have the honour and satisfaction to report to your Lordship by this occasion the final accomplishment of my instructions. They involved demands of a serious nature—at one period invoked a crisis which presented the prospect of absolute war with this country. Patience and perseverance, coupled with the uninterrupted presence of a powerful British squadron, and greatly aided by the episode which ended in the hard blows struck at

Kagoshima, have brought about these results. I have every reason to believe that the salutary impression they have produced upon the Government and Daimios of Japan will be as lasting as they will be valuable to ourselves during the course of our future relations with this country. Nor can I resist the expression of the satisfaction I have derived at the accomplishment of my unabating endeavours to avert even a partial or momentary cessation of our commercial relations with Japan throughout these difficulties. Grave as were the complications, those relations have not only uninterruptedly continued, but have increased in value and extent.

“With respect to the present general aspect of our position in this country I had hardly anticipated being in a position to refer to any conciliatory expressions of goodwill on the part of the Tycoon’s Government, which so lately renewed the desire repelled by me to discuss the subject of the abandonment of Yokohama by foreigners ; and yet hardly had the agents of Satsuma acquitted themselves of their voluntary mission of pacification, when most unexpectedly I received a congratulatory despatch from the Tycoon’s Ministers, accompanied by words of goodwill and promise for the future, a copy of which I have the satisfaction to lay before your Lordship. Holding in view, however, the internal situation of this country, agitated by strife and powerful rivalries, amidst which an anti-foreign element is so conspicuous, I cannot at present venture to hazard any expression of absolute belief in the friendly policy likely to be pursued by the Tycoon’s Government in respect to its foreign relations. But the knowledge that a military force within certain limits has been rendered available to

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me by her Majesty's Government, and the continued presence of the squadron, sufficiently ensures the communities against all danger of violence. In the meanwhile so long as our actual situation in this country continues in its present position, and in the absence of further instructions from your Lordship, I do not propose to call upon the Major-General commanding her Majesty's forces in China to send over to Japan any other troops than the small body of 150 men daily expected, and for whose reception every arrangement has been completed by me without the slightest expression of opposition or dissent on the part of the Tycoon's Government.

" I have, &c.,

(Signed) " EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE."

Inclosure 1.—*The Agents of the Prince of Satsuma to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.*

[Translation.]

" Yokohama, December 11th, 1863.

" The money demanded by the British Government having been paid by the officers of Shimadzu Awaji no Kami, a branch of the family of Satsuma, we hereby promise as follows :—

" The persons who last autumn, in the eighth month, killed and wounded your countrymen at Namamugi, on the tôkaidô, have escaped from that place, and although we have diligently searched for them, their place of abode has not been found out.

" And as also some time has passed, it is not possible to state with certainty whether they are still alive, but we will use every diligence in searching for

them, and as soon as arrested punish the same with death in the presence of your country's officers.

“As a promise for the future we sign this.

(Signed) “SHIKENO KONOSHÔ,

“*Diplomatic Agent of the Prince of Satsuma.*

“IWASHITA SAJEMON,

“*Acting Minister of Satsuma.*

“Countersigned as witnesses to the above promise.

(Signed) “UKAI TAICHI,

“*Officer of Department for Foreign Affairs of Tycoon's Government.*

“SAITÔ KINGO,

“*Assistant Ometsky.*”

### *Inclosure 2.*

#### [Memorandum.]

“*British Legation in Japan, December 11th, 1863.*

“The basis of goodwill and amity being established by the settlement of the demands preferred on the Prince of Satsuma, and the agents of the Prince of Satsuma having preferred to the Undersigned, her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires, a request in presence of Officers of the Tycoon, and as a token of friendly feeling re-established, that he would facilitate the desire of the Prince of Satsuma to purchase a ship of war in England, her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'affaires does hereby engage to represent such request when formally and specifically preferred to her Majesty's Government, provided that at the period when such request is made or in course of examination, the relations of the Tycoon's Government with Great Britain in general, and the proceedings and disposition of the Prince of Satsuma in particular, are not inimical or directed against the rights acquired by treaties now existing between the

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Tycoon of Japan, Great Britain, and other friendly States.

"Given at Yokohama, this 11th day of Dec., 1863.

(Signed) "EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE,

" *Her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires.*"

Inclosure 3.—*The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.*

"Yedo, December 13th, 1863.

"We beg to make the following communication to your Excellency.

"With respect to the murder which was committed last year upon a British merchant at Namamugi, on the tôkaidô, the subjects of Matsudaira Shiuri no Daibu and Shimadzu Awaji no Kami, of the family of Satsuma, have lately had an interview with you, and the negotiation was of a peaceful nature, thus affording a proof that the subjects of Shiuri no Daibu (Satsuma) will search for and punish the murderer, as by their written engagement. The indemnity money was moreover handed over by the subjects of Awaji no Kami of the family of Satsuma, and also as a proof of peace, the engagement entered into by you to facilitate the purchase of a man-of-war in terms of the writing was given, and everything ended satisfactorily, which we have fully understood from the communication received from our Government officers who were present.

"It gives us great pleasure, as it is a sign of the continuance of a lasting friendship between the two countries. With respect and consideration.

"The 3rd day of the 11th month of the 3rd year of Bunkiu (December 13th, 1863).

(Signed)

"MIDZUNO IDZUMI NO KAMI.

"ITAKURA SUWÔ NO KAMI.

"ARIMA TOTOMI NO KAMI."

The Japanese ministers were no doubt delighted to think that such a troublesome matter was off their hands.

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In a despatch of the 30th of December, Colonel Neale records the evident aim and solicitude of the agents of Satsuma in their interviews with him to avert by all the means in their power the probability of a second attack on Kagoshima by her Majesty's naval forces. They acknowledged, in the presence of bakufu officials, to members of the legation the superiority of our power, and their desire to remain on friendly terms with us. And this altered policy was subsequently pursued by the clan.

No one, however, concerned in the cowardly attack has ever been given up to justice.

But it is melancholy to think that not one of the small English party who were attacked on the road between Kanagawa and Yedo is now alive.

Not one of  
the English  
party now  
survives.

Mr. Clarke died in Japan, and Mrs. Borrodaile subsequently in England, and no longer ago than the 4th of September, 1873, the community of Yokohama had to deplore the sudden death of Mr. William Marshall, one of its leading merchants, a man whose many friends admired in him the true honesty and good sense of a straightforward Englishman.



## CHAPTER XXII.

1863.

Supposed plot of Chôshiu clan to carry off the Emperor.—The gates of the Palace are shut, and the Chôshiu troops are forbidden its precincts.—Sanjô and six other Kugés, who favour the clan, retire with their troops to Chôshiu.—They are deprived of their titles and honours.—Expulsion of Foreigners put off.—Memorial of Chôshiu.

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Sanjô and  
other Court  
nobles allied  
with  
Chôshiu.

AMONGST the Court nobles who favoured the projects of the Chôshiu clan was Sanjô Sanéyoshi, already mentioned in this history as imperial Envoy to Yedo, and now chief minister of State under the restored government of the Mikado. With him, as will be seen, were certain other influential kugés, and they were destined to play a considerable part in the complications about to arise in the old Capital.

The details of the present chapter are taken from the *Genji yumé monogatari*, and I have in general preserved the quaint language and expressions of the native writer.

Sept. 30.  
Gun fired  
near the Sun  
Gate, Aidzu,  
&c., hurry to  
the palace,  
and the  
gates are

On the 30th of September a gun was fired close to the Sun Gate of the palace, about two in the morning. Several distinguished members of the Court, together with the Prince of Aidzu, and the shôgun's resident,

Inaba Nagato no Kami, at the head of a large force, hurried to the palace; the different gates there and in its neighbourhood were shut with considerable force, and strong guards were stationed at them.

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shut. Sup-  
posed plot of  
Chôshiu to  
carry off the  
Emperor.

The Aidzu clan, be it remarked, were staunch supporters of the house of Tokugawa.

It appears, from a letter written on the 7th of October, by the Prince of Aidzu to the Prince of Yonézawa, that the Chôshiu clan were suspected of a design to seize the Emperor on his way to visit the Yamato Shrines, and to carry his Majesty off to their territory. The same letter stated that there were at least 1500 Chôshiu troops lying in the neighbourhood of Kiôto with this object. A similar accusation, as will be seen hereafter, was brought against Aidzu, who was accused of a plot, in the interest of the shôgun, to carry off the Emperor to Yedo. This intriguing was in strict pursuance of what has already been mentioned as the regular policy of contending parties in Japan, where each side strove to obtain possession of the person of the Mikado, in order to clothe its acts with his sacred authority.

Orders were now sent from the Court to Môri Sanuki no Kami, the only member of the Prince of Chôshiu's family then at Kiôto, that neither he nor any of his men could be admitted within the palace precincts. The Satsuma clan, which since the month of June had ceased to guard the Inui Gate, were instructed to man it in all haste, and by the evening four or five hundred of their troops, clad in armour and provided with cannon, assembled within the palace enclosure.

Chôshiu clan  
forbidden  
the palace.  
Satsuma to  
guard the  
Inui Gate.

Meanwhile, three men of Chôshiu, Môri Sanuki no Kami, Kikkawa Kemmotsu, and Masuda Uyémomono

Three  
Chôshiu  
men collect  
troops.

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Their pro-  
ceedings.

Ské, hearing of the tumult near the palace, marshalled their troops and hastened thither ; but when they found all the gates firmly shut, and that not a single man would be permitted to enter, they forced their way in at the back gate of the kuambaku Takadzukasa's residence to see what was the matter. When they found the palace enclosure full of warriors in armour, and the gates all strongly guarded, they were amazed, and said to themselves, "here's a tremendous business." They then asked the kuambaku what it all meant, but his Highness said that he knew nothing about it. From there they went to Sanjô Sanéyoshi, and inquired of him, but he replied that he did not understand the meaning of this day's proceedings. Kikkawa then escorted Sanjô to the residence of the kuambaku, where, having sent for the ministers of State\* to find out what was going on, and to demand explanations, he awaited their arrival.

Conference  
at the  
palace, and  
proposal to  
bring Sanjô,  
&c., to trial.

Meanwhile a conference was being held at the palace, and opinions were expressed blaming the influences of the Chôshiu clan on the policy of the Court. The ministers of State, it was argued, had thus been led to state a great many things in the Emperor's name, which his Majesty had never intended, and in particular, with reference to his Majesty taking the field in person, they had ascribed to him intentions which had never entered into his thoughts, and which "had ruffled his scales very much ;"† such impetuous and turbulent actions were evidently the results of

\* *Koku-ji-gakari*. Kugês who had possession of the Emperor's confidence, and were consulted by him on general questions of policy, but without executive power.—E. S.

† Presumably the scales of the dragon, which he is fabled to resemble. His face is called the dragon-countenance.—E. S.

participation by certain kugés in an infamous plot of Chôshiu, and to have urged them upon the Sovereign was the most flagrant treason. It was therefore proposed that Sanjô and the other kugés who favoured the policy of the Chôshiu clan should shortly be brought to trial, and for the present they were to be ordered to remain in their houses and to see no one.

This was the language of the bakufu party at Court.

The daimios of Inaba, Yonézawa, and Bizen had now put on their armour, and agreeably to a summons had come to garrison the palace at the head of considerable bodies of men. The Prince of Aidzu and the shôgun's resident urged upon the conference that the Chôshiu clan harboured treasonable schemes, and had contrived an abominable conspiracy, in pressing the Emperor to take the field against the foreigners in person. An order was therefore given to dismiss the Chôshiu clan from its posts within the nine gates of the palace, and to expel all their forces from the city.

The Chôshiu clan dismissed from within the nine gates.

The kuambaku was now summoned to appear at Court, and being ushered into the Imperial presence, was thus addressed by his Majesty :—

The kuambaku is summoned to Court and reproved by his Majesty.

“Although we had not determined that the moment for us to take the field against the barbarians had arrived, you have falsified our intentions, and have issued orders which never came from us, to our great displeasure. We certainly intend to take the field ourselves, and to expel the barbarians ; on those two points our purpose is unchanged ; but we must put off our departure for the present.”

The Emperor's advisers thus do not yet cause his Majesty to declare that the scheme for expelling the foreigners would have to be given up ; they

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content themselves with allowing that it must be put off.

Yanagiwara  
sent to  
order the  
Chôshiu clan  
to retire.  
Negotia-  
tions.

In spite of repeated orders to the Chôshiu clan, informing them that they were released from the guardianship of the Sakai-machi gate, there was no sign of yielding on their part. A Court minister called Yanagiwara was therefore despatched on a message from the Emperor to Kikkawa and the others to retire to their *yashiki*, and await the coming of a messenger from his Majesty. They replied that they should think it a great hardship to have to retire under such circumstances. They were therefore told to hear the Imperial orders at the residence of the kuambaku. These orders stated that, although his Majesty for some time past had resolved to take the field in person against the barbarians, he intended first to make inquiries into certain turbulent proceedings in connection with his setting forth. That his Majesty's determination to expel the barbarians was, however, irrevocably fixed; the Chôshiu clan had already served the Court diligently; he therefore still relied upon it to animate the popular feeling, and desired that it would be most faithful and loyal. That as the number of men in the clan was so large, their chief should keep them quiet and restrain their turbulence, and in thus preventing the occurrence of misunderstanding, should go on, as he had always done, serving the cause of his sovereign, with all his heart and strength.

Kikkawa respectfully accepted these orders, and gave an acknowledgment in writing. He then said that Sanjô and the other kugés belonging to that side were perfectly wretched at having incurred his Majesty's displeasure, and begged with great earnest-



ness to be re-admitted to his favour. The Aidzu soldiers all this time were drawn up in front of the Chôshiu barracks, with the muzzle of their cannon aimed against the Chôshiu troops, looking as if they were ready to fire at the slightest indication of a move on the part of the others. Kikkawa and Masuda turned to the Mikado's messenger, and asked why these violent demonstrations were made; that the whole clan were becoming excited, and it was impossible to tell what violence they might not proceed to. Yanagiwara therefore addressed himself to the Aidzu men, and ordered them to turn the muzzles of their guns the other way. Upon which, the order to withdraw the Chôshiu troops having been communicated by him, they promised to obey it, and they gradually withdrew. Immediately afterwards the troops of the shôgun's resident took their place.

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Threatening  
aspect of  
Aidzu  
soldiers.

Chôshiu  
troops with-  
draw.

Sanjô and the other kugés who had espoused the side of Chôshiu had all assembled at the residence of the kuambaku. The names of the other Court nobles were: Sanjônishi, Higashizono, Higashikuzé, Shijô, Nishikôji Uma no Kami, Mibu Shiuri no Taiyu, and Sawa Mondo no Kami. At this moment the Kugé Shimidzudani came with a message from the Emperor, to tell these nobles that their attempt to violate the sanctity of the palace, and the urgent visit they had made to his Highness the kuambaku, were heinous offences, and that they must retire; that if they persisted, they would be considered to be in flagrant rebellion to the Emperor's orders.

Imperial  
message to  
Sanjô, &c.

So Sanjô and the other seven kugés, escorted by the three men of Môri,\* left the palace at the head of a large body of men, and retired to the residence of the

They leave  
with the  
Chôshiu  
men for  
Miô-hô-in.

\* Môri Sanuki no Kami, Kikkawa, and Masuda.



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Abbot Miô-hô-in (one of the priest princes of the Imperial blood). These nobles were dressed in Court costume, with their sleeves thrown back, wearing their sabres, and were mounted on saddle-horses. The body-guard which accompanied them had on *taté-é-boshi*,\* wore breast-plates, gauntlets, and leg-pieces, and were armed with spears and pikes. Their faces wore an expression of indignation as they withdrew, guarding the nobles before and behind, very much as when, in the period of Jinyei (1182-89), the nobles of the house of Hei, attacked by the Genji, escorted the Emperor Antoku, and fled towards the western seas.†

Supplication  
sent to the  
kuambaku.

At the apartments of the Abbot of Miô-hô-in, the seven nobles and the three men of Môri held a consultation, and at a late hour of the night Masuda sent in a supplication to his Highness. It represented that having been dismissed from the guard of the Sakai-machi gate, they desired to exert their efforts in the defence of the seacoast of their country, and that Môri Sanuki no Kami and Kikkawa, as well as the others stationed at Kiôto, would at once return home. That they were grateful for the confidence reposed in them by his Majesty with respect to the expulsion of the foreigners. That the whole country would put forth all its energies with desperation. That Sanjô and other personages who had for years been true and faithful (thus earning the respect of the people), desired to be first in the fight against the barbarians, and would now be escorted to Chôshiu.

Departure  
of Sanjo,  
&c., for  
Chôshiu.

Having sent this document in, they left at ten

\* *Taté-é-boshi*. Long black caps of hempen cloth, worn by the samurai class, bounded with a white fillet on the forehead.—E. S.

† Vide Book I. chapter iii.

o'clock the same night for Fushimi. The Kugés' body-guards announced their intention of accompanying them to the end of the world, but these nobles told them that they could not carry off, on their own responsibility, body-guards attached to them by the Imperial Court, seeing that they lay under the displeasure of his Majesty, and so most of them went no further than Miô-hô-in. But about twenty or thirty accompanied the nobles on their own responsibility.

It seemed likely on this occasion that some of the young and impetuous fellows might proceed to acts of violence, but the three leaders, who felt great anxiety, succeeded at last in pacifying them, and setting forth from Kiôto with the seven nobles in their midst,\* they retired to their own country.

"Alas for these seven nobles," exclaims the chronicler, "who till but yesterday had performed their functions near the throne, whose glory spread like a flood over the whole country, and who had governed the princes! theirs was a pitiful case; to-day they must undergo the hardships of a voyage to distant parts, and go to the western provinces. How lamentable their case!"

On the morning of the next day, the 1st of October, the departure of Sanjô and the others for Chôshiu being as yet unknown to the imperial Court, an order was sent to Sanjô's house to command his presence at the palace; and as the answer was that he had gone the previous night to Miô-hô-in, the messenger proceeded thither, but the nobles had already started for Chôshiu. The Emperor was therefore urged to decree the pursuit and chastisement of Sanjô and

Sanjô  
and the  
others are  
deprived of  
titles and  
honours

\* One of the nobles seems not to have accompanied the rest, as only seven in all are now spoken of.

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the others, for having violated the sanctity of the palace, and disobeyed his Majesty's orders. The imperial Court could not agree upon the matter, but at last a decree was issued depriving them of their titles and honours.

A notice was issued the same day to all the clans, saying that, although a delay in the departure of his Majesty had been announced, the barbarians must be speedily driven out.

Agitation  
and flight of  
the towns-  
people.

None of the townspeople knew a word of what had been passing. The 30th of September being the annual festival of the Gorio Shrine,\* the children born during the past year were taken, from an early hour in the morning, to pay their devotions to the god who had presided over their births. But on this particular occasion, unlike all others, the nine gates of the palace were all shut, and not a single person was allowed to pass. Not knowing the reason of this, they thought it very peculiar, and people stood here and there in the streets of Kiôto, whispering and spreading all sorts of rumours, which did not tend to allay the excitement. Then they saw men running together in all directions with arms in their hands, or hastening to the palace with the matches of their fire-arms ready. The excitement seemed to become greater and greater; some hurried about on horseback, some passed along dragging field-pieces and rockets in carts. The townspeople were mightily astounded, and were afraid that something fearful had happened, until, about ten o'clock in the morning, the whole place was in a commotion. Num-

\* A shrine near Kiôto dedicated to six heroes, one heroine, and one god. Of the six heroes, five were rebels, the other being Kibikô, the minister of State to whom the invention of the Katakana alphabet is usually attributed.—E. S.

bers of soldiers of the different clans stationed at Kiôto were running hither and thither, all clad in armour, and in the greatest haste.

When the townspeople saw that the wives and children of the kugés and officials were departing to the neighbouring villages, accompanied by servants laden with their most valuable property, they began to be alarmed for their own safety too, and packing up their furniture and other moveables, removed them also to the neighbouring villages. Just as on the occasion of a grand conflagration, there were many who abandoned the houses inhabited by their ancestors, and fled away.

So the day's festival could not be celebrated, and by nightfall the rumours became more and more disquieting. All the clans were moving up provisions to the palace, and the enclosure was so full of lanterns that it seemed almost broad daylight. All the soldiers were cased in armour, and numbers of them with loaded muskets stood waiting, ranged in order, ready to fire as soon as the word should be given.

The clans  
move pro-  
visions up to  
the palace.

However, as there was no enemy to fight, and no rebels appeared to be approaching, the soldiers who had turned out could not understand the object of it all, but they remained in the palace enclosure, longing for a fight.

Up to the previous year the people of different classes in Kiôto had seen fire-arms in pictures or on the stage, but no one had ever seen a real matchlock ; on rare occasions they had perhaps seen the weapon of some hunter from the distant wilds, and it had been esteemed a rare and curious sight. Since the last winter, however, fire-arms had been openly carried in the streets of the Capital, to the general astonishment.

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Few there were who did not lament this fearful age, when soldiers carried fire-arms in the neighbourhood of the throne, and, dreadful to relate, rushed wildly in with open touch-holes.

October 7.  
The gates  
are re-  
opened.  
Dispersing  
of *rônins*.

Four or five days passed without the nine gates being opened, and the town was extremely uneasy ; but on the 7th of October, the gates were opened and people were allowed to pass through, as before, so that tranquillity gradually returned. The bands of *rônins* and low-class *samurai* who had roamed about Kiôto were sought after diligently, and all who bore the slightest resemblance to them were arrested. As none of the Môri family, whom the *rônins* had made their rallying point, were permitted to put foot in the Capital, some of them betook themselves to Chôshiu, and others joined the band in Yamato, so that *rônins* became rare in Kiôto. “ The traitorous tradesmen therefore,” says the chronicler, “profiting by this second opportunity, put up the price of every article in the twinkling of an eye, and all men regretted the Chôshiu family as a lost child its mother.”

Memorial of  
Chôshiu.

Subsequently a memorial was sent to the Emperor by the Prince of Chôshiu, explaining that in the summer of 1862 his Majesty, having resolutely decreed the expulsion of foreigners, had placed great reliance on the clans of Satsuma and Chôshiu, who had induced the shôgun to repair to Kiôto ; that his Majesty then fixed the date for the expulsion ; that the Chôshiu men fought hard in their country to effect it, were ahead of all other clans in producing a successful result, for which the prince had received his Majesty's approval in writing. The memorial complained that the slander of one morning had brought the foot of the throne into confusion, that the prince had been dis-

missed from his duty of guarding his sovereign, and that the seven kugés had been deprived of their functions. "It pains me deeply," says the document, "to think that his Majesty's feelings should have so changed. Setting aside the question of my humble clan, I have prayed his Majesty to restore their employments to these seven nobles without delay, but his Majesty totally refuses to listen to my suggestion."

The memorial failed in its object, and the advisers of the Emperor were successful in causing his Majesty to turn a deaf ear to all supplications in favour of what must now be called the rebellious clan of Chôshiu.

Thus ended 1863, and it seemed that the wiser counsels of the bakufu were prevailing at Kiôto in regard to the policy towards foreigners, and that from this time, as the native writer complains, "the scheme of expelling the barbarians fell to pieces like ice during a thaw."

End of 1863.  
Scheme for  
expelling  
foreigners  
seems given  
up at Kiôto.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

1864.

Mission to France ostensibly to express regret for Murder of M. de Camus, really to propose to close the Port of Kanagawa, and to buy ships of war and guns.—Shôgun's second visit to Kiôto.—Expulsion of Foreigners deferred.—Satsuma steamer fired on by Chôshiu men.—Return of Sir R. Alcock.—Murderous assault on a British subject at Nagasaki.—*Rônins* put to death.—Impression that an anti-foreign policy is still pursued, and that Chôshiu should be attacked.—The Representatives agree upon joint action and an identic note.

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Mission to  
France re-  
specting M.  
de Camus's  
murder.

AFTER the murder of Lieutenant de Camus, the French Representative and Admiral Jauvès urged the shôgun's government to send special Envoys to France with an autograph letter from that ruler to the Emperor Napoleon, expressing his deep regret at the occurrence. The mission was decided upon, but, as it appeared, other objects were more particularly to occupy its attention, and, on the 14th of January, 1864, two of the vice-ministers and two commissioners of foreign affairs had an interview with Colonel Neale, which is recorded in the following minutes:—\*

Conference  
with  
Colonel  
Neale. The  
mission is  
also to  
propose the  
closing of  
Yokohama.

“*The two Vice-Ministers* commenced by stating that they hoped that the friendly relations now exist-

\* Papers presented to Parliament. Japan, No. 1 (1865).

ing between the two countries would continue, and be lasting; that, notwithstanding the prejudice of the people to foreigners, they still trusted that that would not have any influence, as they intended to uphold the Treaty and did not wish to see it broken; that they had come to the conclusion of sending an Embassy to Europe, and wished now to offer some explanations of the reasons by which they had been induced to take this step. The two Commissioners of Foreign Affairs who were here present would enter into the particulars of the case.

“*Colonel Neale* remarked that he was willing to listen to the Commissioners, but that he should consider their communication as coming from the ministers themselves.

“*One of the Commissioners* then stated that, on account of the ill-feeling in the country towards foreigners, brought about by the opening of the ports, and which was gaining ground day by day, but which they were afraid it was out of their power to arrest, the Government was constrained to propose closing the port of Yokohama, leaving only Nagasaki and Hakodaté open to foreign trade. It was Commodore Perry who had originally advised the Tycoon’s Government to open their ports to foreigners, but only as an experiment, so that if it did not succeed they might be closed again.

“*Colonel Neale* wished to be informed whether these reservations and conditions had been officially entered into with the American authorities. They certainly did not appear in the Treaty with the United States negotiated by Mr. Harris.

“*The Commissioners* replied that these conditions had been verbally discussed and understood.

“ *Colonel Neale* remarked that Great Britain had entered into no such engagements.

“ *The Commissioners* continued, that the ill-feeling of the people against foreigners was getting worse and worse, murders having of late been continually committed at Yedo, where it was not advisable for foreigners to reside: the hostilities entered into by Satsuma at Kagoshima were a sign of the bad national feeling. The friendly intentions of the Government could not be carried into effect on account of these national prejudices. All friendly intercourse with foreigners was hateful to them. They likewise hate the Tycoon’s Government (which was favourable to foreigners) on that account. The strongholds of the Tycoon’s Government have been attacked, and insurrections have commenced in Yamato, a province near Kiôto. If these things were allowed to go on, the ill-feeling would increase; therefore the Tycoon’s Government had made up its mind to close the port of Kanagawa (Yokohama), and leave only Nagasaki and Hakodaté open for trading purposes; but as this is a matter of great importance, and cannot be entered into by Colonel Neale or the other foreign Representatives in Japan, it was necessary to send an Embassy to Europe for that purpose, who would explain our internal difficulties to the British Government, and express our wish to close the port of Kanagawa, but at the same time to continue our friendly relations.

“ *Colonel Neale* replied that the communication he had just listened to was most unsatisfactory. No specific facts or circumstances relating to the alleged situation of affairs were to this moment made known to him. The whole substance of what was now said was, that an ill-feeling prevailed among the Japanese

people against foreigners. This had been said from the beginning, but the statement was an idle statement, and he (Colonel Neale) denied the fact. The people were friendly: the two-sworded class and certain daimios might very probably be hostile because they were an armed, and therefore an exclusive and domineering class.

“*The Commissioners* replied that the national feelings were getting worse and worse every day, and they could not say what might be the consequence; all friendship with foreign countries might be broken, and the people might commit many outrages against foreigners. If Kanagawa (Yokohama) were closed, those feelings might calm down a little, and our internal affairs be arranged.

“*Colonel Neale* said that nothing could result from a discussion of this subject so long as the Tycoon’s Government thought proper to adopt a policy of concealment and mystery. Had the Ministers anything further to add?

“*The Commissioners* stated that they only wished to explain why the Tycoon’s Government decided upon sending Envoys to Europe. The affair was grave; it could not be settled by writing; therefore Envoys would be sent.

“*Colonel Neale* replied that every nation had the right to send Envoys where they would, but that he did not know how the Envoys would be received in England, or whether, under the circumstances, they would be received at all. In the meanwhile, supposing the Embassy to have proceeded to England, as to other countries, her Majesty’s Chargé d’affaires called upon the Tycoon’s Government distinctly to understand that he was here to take care that the

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Treaty existing between Great Britain and Japan was carried out. If the trade were stopped, or any other aggressive acts adopted by the Tycoon's Government, or tolerated by it, he should immediately act without waiting for further instructions from his Government. Her Majesty's forces within reach of Japan would repel any such acts.

"*The Commissioners* hoped her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires would afford his aid and assistance to the Embassy, as they were going with the view of maintaining friendly relations.

"*Colonel Neale* replied that that would depend upon what was passing in the interval in this country in regard to foreign relations ; but in what manner did they wish him to assist them ?

"*The Commissioners* said they wished her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires to represent to her Majesty's Government the good intentions of the Japanese Government in sending Envoys, and the object they had in view in desiring to close the port of Kanagawa.

"*Colonel Neale* said that, on the contrary, it would be his duty to inform her Majesty's Government that he had no official knowledge of the true state of the national feeling in Japan. The Japanese Government, as he had often reason to complain, had persistently refused to afford the slightest information as to the internal situation of affairs, or even of stating who were our friends, or who were our enemies. Her Majesty's Chargé d'affaires disclaimed all knowledge of the principles which guided the rival parties in this Empire, as they were not made manifest. He believed the mass of the people of this country to be most favourable to foreign intercourse. If the Tycoon's



Government was equally so, but not sufficiently strong to maintain its policy, support had been proffered to it, if sought for, in its contests with the hostile factions.

“*The Commissioners*—When it is said that the Japanese are friendly towards foreigners, this can only apply to the Tycoon’s Government and to the people of Yokohama: in the interior they are not so. There are a great many bad people, called *rônins*, in this country.

“*Colonel Neale* asked what was understood by the term ‘Tycoon’s Government.’ Did it mean literally the Tycoon himself and his Ministers?

“*The Commissioners* said they understood by the ‘Tycoon’s Government’ the Tycoon and all the Ministers of the country.

“*Colonel Neale* observed that in civilized countries a government was understood to mean the Sovereign or chief ruler, his Ministers, and a sufficiently powerful party who supported that Government and its policy.

“*The Commissioners* responded that the Japanese Government consisted of the Tycoon and his Ministers, but no Daimios. The Tycoon governed the whole nation.

“*Colonel Neale* replied that the Tycoon must, therefore, to some extent, govern the Daimios—certainly those of his own creation, who are very numerous. He wished the Tycoon’s Government to understand that when a nation is said to be on friendly terms with another, it is not implied that the Sovereign and his Ministers are personally and solely on friendly terms.

“*The Commissioners*—If the Japanese were united in their feelings of friendship towards other nations, then everything would go on smoothly, but there are



thousands who differ in opinion from their Government.

“ *Colonel Neale* replied that there is no country in the world that is united unanimously in opinion or feeling upon all subjects ; but the dynasty and Government which prevailed must have a strong party which supports their views.

“ *The Commissioners*—For three hundred years our country has had no intercourse with foreigners, therefore they (foreigners) are hated. We cannot suppress these ill feelings, therefore it is advisable to close Yokohama.

“ *Colonel Neale* said he desired to have no repetition of that discussion, but it was his duty on this occasion most seriously to complain that the trade of Yokohama, during the last few weeks, had been impeded and obstructed by the authorities. No less than eighteen shops had been closed, and the free passage of silk from Yedo was partially prohibited. Should this continue, the relations between Great Britain and Japan would at once become disturbed.

“ *The Commissioners* said that the reason why the shops were closing is perhaps because the owners are getting poor ; some also had been killed by *rônins* ; others are, in consequence, afraid of trading with foreigners.

“ *Colonel Neale* replied that the Government was nevertheless aware that it was rather because they were getting too rich, or perhaps had not furnished a sufficiently exact account of their gains to the Government which taxed them. Be this as it might, if trade, in its enlarged sense, were stopped, that could only be by the desire and action of the Government, and such a state of things would be immediately resented.

"*The Commissioners* said that the Tycoon's Government wished commerce to continue till the return of the Envoys from Europe. They did not know why the shops were closed. They could not help it.

"*Colonel Neale* then said: 'If you stop our trade, we will stop yours; if you stop our supplies, we will stop yours; and I wish you, above all things, to record and convey to the Tycoon's Government this most serious statement on my part, for it will bring under their consideration an inevitable course of action which must be adopted under the contingencies referred to.'

"*The Commissioners* asked whether by stopping their trade was meant the imports which come from abroad.

"*Colonel Neale* said: 'Certainly not. I mean your own trade between one port and another. In regard to supplies and provisions, if you permit that they cease to be supplied, we must necessarily seek them where we can find them in other parts of your country, which, under other circumstances, we do not desire to frequent.'

"After some further conversation upon general subjects, the conference was closed."

It will be observed that on this occasion the Japanese officials did not even mention that the Mission was to convey the shôgun's regret for the murder of a Frenchman. The suggestion of the Mission came from foreigners; it was caught up by the Yedo government, and I am much mistaken if they did not argue somewhat in this manner: "We will agree to send a Mission to France, and express regret for the murder of the foreigner; this will please the

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French, but it will not be the real object of the Mission; we will make this the excuse, and we will tell our Court and the *samurai* that the Envoys are sent to insist on the closing of the port of Karagawa to foreigners. This will appease the Court and the *samurai*; we shall gain time, whether the Mission succeeds or not."

In this way they would appear to follow the advice of the foreigners, but would, in reality, make the Mission subservient to purposes of their own.

A credit is opened, doubtless to purchase ships and guns in Europe.

That the government ever dreamt of obtaining such a concession from the treaty powers as the closing of the most important commercial port is not to be supposed. It also transpired that a credit with a bank in Yokohama for the sum of one million Mexican dollars was opened, and this pointed to an intended purchase of vessels of war and guns of long range in Europe.

The three principal members of the Mission, all men of inferior rank, paid a formal visit to Colonel Neale on the 29th of January, and stating that they were to leave in a few days for Paris and London, expressed the hope that her Majesty's government would assist them in accomplishing the object of their Mission.

Colonel Neale replied that this would depend upon its nature, and he inquired whether they had no other object in view than negotiations for closing the port of Kanagawa.

They rejoined that they were instructed to express their deep regret to the French government for the murder of M. de Camus, and to the British government for the attack on the legation at Tozenji. Colonel Neale remarked that the latter affair had been

settled by the payment of an indemnity, but that probably some explanations would be necessary in regard to the burning of the buildings destined for the British legation on Gotenyama.

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Previous to the departure of the Mission, probably as a conciliatory act preparatory to their arrival in Europe, the government reduced the duties to 5 per cent. on most of the articles bearing a duty of 20 per cent., partly as in accomplishment of promises made by the former Envoys to Earl Russell and the French Minister for foreign affairs in 1862, and partly by a so-called convention with the U.S. Minister, Mr. Pruyn.

Reduction  
of duties on  
certain  
articles to 5  
per cent.

The Envoys left on the 5th of February in the French ship of war "Le Monge" for Shanghai, whence they proceeded to Europe, with a suite of about thirty-five persons, by the regular French mail packet.

February 5.  
Departure  
of Envoys.

Two companies of the 20th Regiment, applied for by Colonel Neale, had now arrived from Hong Kong (January 22). They were quartered for the time, with the full assent of the Japanese government, in barracks situated in the centre of the Yokohama settlement. They were required, not owing to any direct expectation of hostile operations, but as a precautionary measure, in order effectually to allay panics which were constantly recurring, and to provide against the possible attacks of *rônins*.

Arrival of  
two com-  
panies of  
the 20th  
Regiment

Meanwhile the shôgun had been summoned a second time to Kiôto, and Hitotsûbashi had already arrived there on the 5th of January. On the 4th of February the shôgun embarked on board a man-of-war at Yedo, and set sail from Shinagawa roads the following day. He landed at Uruga, and held an artillery review, and then re-embarking, reached Hiôgo

Arrival of  
Hitotsû-  
bashi and  
shôgun  
at Kiôto.

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conferred  
by the  
Emperor.

on the 18th. From there he proceeded to Ôzaka in a river barge, and arrived at his castle of Nijô in the Capital on the 22nd. Five days later a messenger from the Mikado conveyed to him the high appointment of Udaijin. At the same time the ex-Prince of Echizen was made vice-minister of finance, and Shimadzu Saburô was elevated to the second class of the fourth rank at Court, and was decorated with the titles of Shoshô \* and Ôsumi no Kami, with correlative rank among the daimios, as a reward for his exertions in previous years and for his good services towards the Tokugawa family.

February 28.  
Shôgun's  
audience.

On the 28th the shôgun had an audience of the Mikado, and was accompanied by a numerous suite. The high officers of the Court were ranged in the order of their respective ranks in the Privy Council chamber, and the Mikado's relation, the In no Miya,† having received the Imperial speech, communicated it to all present.‡ It was to the following effect:—

Speech  
of the  
Emperor.

“A glance at the present condition of affairs shows at home the laws put aside, the bonds of society loosened, and the public groaning under a weight of misery: on all sides there is evidence of dissolution and ruin. Abroad, We are exposed to the insults of five great continents of haughty barbarians, and the calamity of being swallowed up by them threatens Us at every moment. The danger is like unto piling eggs in a heap, or to the singeing of an eyebrow. Our thoughts are so occupied by these things, that We can

\* Merely a rank.

† Prince Nakagawa, president of the censorate (*Danjô no In*).

‡ The Mikado was not in the habit of speaking his speeches; they were read for him by some other person, usually his chief minister.—E. S.

neither eat nor sleep. Alas, alas! ye men of office, what think ye of it? But you are not to blame. Our own want of virtue is the cause. The crime is Ours alone; and what will the God of heaven and earth say of Us? How can We dare to meet Our ancestors underground? It seems to Us that you are our babes, and the love We bear to you is as that of a mother for her child. Do you therefore regard Us in the light of a parent, for on the depth or shallowness of that affection hangs the success or failure of the attempt to restore the Empire. How serious a matter it is! Do you therefore give your whole mind to the subject day and night, and respond to the prayer expressed by the national heart.

“The subjugation of the ugly barbarians is a fundamental law of Our polity, and We must set an army on foot in order to strike awe into them, and chastise them. But We like not in truth a reckless attack upon the barbarians. Do you therefore ponder an efficient scheme and submit it to Us. We will then discuss its merits with care, and come to a firm and irrevocable determination.

“We believe that in order to restore the Empire to its ancient splendour We must have a man equal to the task. We are confident, when We look round upon Our hundred of military leaders, that such a man exists, but at the present moment Aidzu Chiu-jô, Echizen Saki no Chiu-jô,\* Daté Saki no Jijiu,† Tosa Saki no Jijiu,‡ and Shimadzu Shoshô appear to Us trusty and faithful to a high degree, and sagacious in counsel, and there-

\* The old Prince of Echizen, also called Matsudaira Shungaku.

† The old Prince of Uwajima.

‡ The old Prince of Tosa, called Yamanouchi Yôdô. He died in 1872.



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fore fit to undertake the important interests of the State. We love them as Our children ; do you,\* therefore, be affectionate to them, and work with them. We swear to you to restore the Empire from its fallen state, to follow in the steps of the spirits of the departed Emperors, and to rescue the people out of their misery. Should the work be neglected and the result be unsuccessful, We and you would be specially to blame. The gods and spirits of heaven and earth would condemn us. Be you therefore diligent, be you therefore diligent."

A second Imperial message :—†

A second  
Imperial  
message.

"We with Our feeble body tread the celestial throne, and have unworthily received the Golden Jar, which endures for a myriad generations ; but Our virtue is always inadequate to the task, and We are afraid of offending against the former Emperors and Our people. Since the year 1853 the foreign barbarians have continuously and with fierce violence come to Our ports, so that the country has been exposed to unspeakable danger. The prices of all articles have risen, and the people have suffered grievous affliction. What will the gods of heaven and earth say of Us? Alas ! alas ! Whose fault is it? Morning and evening We hold council upon it. What is to be done? After a peace of more than two hundred years, our military power is insufficient to put down our foreign enemies, and we therefore

\* This is addressed to the shôgun.

† The translator has been obliged to correct the text here, which is full of faults and badly printed in the original, by comparison with another work called *Kin-sé-ya-shi*. These two documents are huddled into one in the *Genji yumé monogatari*.—E. S.

fear lest to revive recklessly the Law of Punishment and Warning would be to plunge the State into unfathomable disasters. The Bakufu has resolutely spread abroad Our will, has reformed the antique laws of ten generations and more; he has released the Daimios from attendance on him at Yedo, and has sent back their wives and children to their homes. He has retrenched the unnecessary expenses of the public service, has diminished those which are ordinarily incurred, and has made large provision of war vessels. Truly this is not only Our good fortune, but the good fortune of Our ancestors and the people also. Moreover, the revival last spring of the old practice of coming up to the Capital is certainly worthy of commendation.

“ But, contrary to all anticipation, Fujiwara no Sanéyoshi \* and others, believing the violent words of low and vulgar fellows, and disregarding the condition of the Empire and the safety of the State, have falsified our command, and issued orders to soldiers of low rank to expel the barbarians, and have madly tried to raise up war to destroy the Shôgun.

“ The violent servants of the Saishô of Nagato † have made a tool and a plaything of their master, have without provocation fired upon barbarian ships, have murdered the messengers of the Bakufu, and have for their own purposes seduced away Sanéyoshi and others to their province. Such mad and turbulent people must certainly be punished. Nevertheless, as all this arises from Our want of virtue, we sincerely feel unspeakable repentance and shame.

\* Sanjô, who, with the other kugés, had joined Chôshiu.

† Prince of Chôshiu.

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Moreover, We are of opinion that if Our war vessels are compared with those of foreigners, it will be seen that they are as yet insufficient either to destroy the fierceness of the proud barbarians, or to manifest the dignity of our country abroad; but, on the contrary, We receive constant insults at their hands. You must, therefore, as you have frequently asked permission to do, fortify the important harbours of the inland sea with the whole resources of the Empire, subjugate the ugly barbarians, and carry out the Law of Punishment and Warning made by the former Emperors.

“Last year the Shôgun stopped a long time at Kiôto, and this spring he has again come here. All the Daimios, too, have run hither and thither, and have sent back their wives and children to their homes. All this is good. Henceforth no expenses must be incurred which are not for military defences; the luxury and waste consequent upon a long state of peace must be diligently cut down; you must exert all your powers and give your whole mind to it; you must make your preparations for the subjugation complete and trenchant. You must fulfil all the duties of a military vassal, and preserve the name of your family from everlasting disgrace. Alas! alas! You the Shôgun, and all the Daimios of every province, are Our babes. Desiring, therefore, in concert with Us, to regenerate the Empire, you must not waste the property of the nation, you must abstain from effeminate prodigality, and you must be resolute in preparing for Punishment and Warning. If you are indolent or remiss, you will thereby not only highly offend against Our will, but you will rebel against the spirits of the Emperor-gods, and act contrary to the intentions of

your ancestors. Moreover, what will the gods and spirits of heaven and earth say of you?"

A copy of these documents was delivered to each of the daimios. The shôgun and daimios present then signified their acceptance of the Imperial mandate, and took their leave. The decree was also sent to the daimios who were in their territories at this moment, and was forwarded post haste to them by their chief retainers.

On the 21st of March, the shôgun sent in his answer, which was as follows :—\*

"The Imperial letter which I was commanded to read on the 5th of March,† declared that his Majesty deigned to take upon his sacred self all the misfortunes which have befallen the country since his succession, at which announcement I trembled and feared with exceeding grief and joy. Now the bakufu confesses himself the cause of all the calamities which have occurred of late, and he knows that his crimes are many in number. His Majesty's servant Iyémochi,‡ with his degenerate person, has continually disgraced his important office. He has neglected the administration of the laws, while disorder and misfortune have been perpetual throughout the country. For many years has he troubled the Imperial bosom, and although, when he came up last spring to the Capital, he received the Imperial orders to expel the barbarians, that result has not yet been attained; not only have the conferences about the closing of the port of Yokohama not been completed,

March 21.  
Answer of  
the shôgun.

\* The translator has taken this also from the *Kin-sê-ya-shi*, as it is given there in full.—E. S.

† There appears to be some mistake in the date.

‡ The shôgun.

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XXIII.

but the date for that exploit to be performed cannot be fixed. Therefore, when, in obedience to a second order, he came up to the Capital, he fully expected to meet with the Imperial displeasure, and to be severely reprimanded ; but contrary to his expectation, he has received the Emperor's approbation ; and not only that, but in the most benevolent and kind way, his Majesty has said that he loves his servant Iyémochi and the nobles as his babes, and, moreover, has given them some valuable admonitions for the future. His Majesty's servant Iyémochi has no means of requiting this kindness, which is as lofty as the mountains and as profound as the ocean. Henceforth he will reform the old abuses which occur in ten thousand matters, he will look on all the Daimios as his brethren, he will unite his strength with theirs, he will fulfil the duties of a servant and a child, he will diligently retrench the necessary expenditure which a long period of peace has given rise to, he will strictly carry on the military preparations, he will arrange the internal government of the country, and he will give life again to the people. The protection of the seaboard is a matter of course, and he will carry to the highest degree of perfection the military defences of every province ; he will put an end to the contemptuous treatment we receive from the barbarians, and will prepare vessels of war ; in the end he will revive the great Law of Punishment and Warning, and cause the dignity of our country to be known beyond the seas. To all these things will he give his most diligent attention.

“ He says, with diffidence, that he desires to set the Imperial bosom at rest. But he will strictly observe the Imperial wish that Punishment and Warning should not be recklessly entered upon, and he



hopes to be able to devise such a plan as shall ensure certain victory. As he has already sent Envoys to foreign countries to speak about the matter of closing the port of Yokohama, he hopes, at all events, to be able to accomplish that ; but as the dispositions of the barbarians are hard to fathom, he will continue to be most diligent and energetic in the fortification of the seaboard. He will perform strictly the duties of a military vassal ; all these weighty schemes shall be formed in accordance with the national wishes, and he prays for the Imperial approval. Restoring the fallen fortunes of the Empire, he will on the one hand destroy the fierceness of the proud barbarians, and on the other protect the lives of the people, and tranquillize the Imperial bosom. He will show his gratitude to the spirits of the Emperor-gods, and carry out the policy bequeathed to him by his ancestors.

“ This, then, is the most earnest and truthful prayer of his Majesty’s servant Iyémochi, wherefore he presents this in answer.

“ His Majesty’s servant Iyémochi, with real fear and real awe, strikes his head on the ground and bows reverentially.”

It is easy to perceive through the exaggerated and roundabout periods of these speeches, that the great exploit of expelling the foreigners was not looked upon as so certain as formerly by the Court, and the shôgun, instead of receiving a reprimand from the Emperor for not having performed it, is entrusted by his Majesty with full powers in the matter. The violent advocates of the expulsion policy were thus sadly disappointed. The law of punishment and warning means, of course, the measures to be taken for that expulsion.

These speeches show that the scheme for the expulsion of foreigners was at least deferred.

Towards the end of January, or, according to another



CHAP.  
XXIII.Satsuma  
steamer  
fired on by  
Chôshiu  
men in  
Shimo-  
noséki  
Straits.

account, on the 1st of February, a steamer which had been lent by the shôgun to the Prince of Satsuma was fired upon and sunk by Chôshiu clansmen in the Straits of Shimonoséki. The *Kinsé Shiriaaku* states that they mistook her for a foreign-owned vessel owing to her build, and that thirty Satsuma men were killed. The following account was published in a Yokohama newspaper as being obtained from a credible source :—

*Report from the Prince of Satsuma's Representative at Yedo to the Gorôjiu, respecting the destruction of one of the Tycoon's steamers by Chôshiu.*

“The Prince of Satsuma had borrowed one of the Tycoon's steamers at Nagasaki, and she had gone to Satsuma's domain. Being in want of repairs, she was sent through the Inland Sea, on her way to the Nagasaki foundry to be repaired, on the 22nd of the 12th moon (24th January) of last year. Two days after this she came to an anchor in the Straits of Shimonoséki at 8 o'clock in the evening. Shortly after this, batteries on the northern shore opened fire upon her. Supposing that the steamer had been mistaken for a foreign vessel, the commanding officer ordered signal-lanterns to be hoisted at the mast-heads, according to an agreement entered into among the Daimios, to provide against such a misunderstanding. The signals were made and hauled down, but the firing commenced again ; and as there was no attention paid to the signals when repeated, there being no help for it, the anchor was weighed, and the steamer directed towards a harbour on the coast of Kokura. But a fire

soon broke out in the ship, and she was consumed before she reached the port.

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“Of the ship’s company, nine officers and nineteen others, including the engineers, lost their lives. Their bodies have not been found.

“This is the report received from Satsuma, at his palace in Yedo, and we forward it immediately to the Government.”

On the 2nd of March, Mr., now Sir Rutherford, Alcock reached Japan, and resumed his duties as her Majesty’s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

March 2.  
Sir R.  
Alcock  
arrives in  
Japan.

Another murderous assault on a British subject was reported from Nagasaki during this month. Charles Sutton was returning quietly to his home in the foreign quarter about 8 p.m., when he passed a Japanese, and a few moments after he received a severe blow from behind across the neck, followed immediately by two sabre cuts nearly severing his arm from the body. Just at this moment his cries brought some persons to the spot, the ruffian fled, and his life was saved.

Murderous  
assault on a  
British  
subject at  
Nagasaki.

The state of affairs at this juncture was far from satisfactory or reassuring to the foreigners. The Prince of Chôshiu continued to obstruct the passage of the Inland Sea, to the detriment of trade, the foreign Representatives were virtually excluded from Yedo, the prolonged absence of the shôgun and influential members of the bakufu as it were suspended the functions of government at his capital, and the favourable symptoms of a less violent policy towards foreigners which had been brought about by the present directors of the Emperor’s councils could not as yet be known to the diplomatists resident at Yokohama.

Unsatisfac-  
tory state of  
affairs.

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Sir R. Alcock felt that for the moment it was his best policy to remain inactive, and wait till he could obtain a clearer sight into the situation of affairs.

*Rônins* put  
to death.

Towards the end of March, many *rônins* connected with a rising in the province of Yamato, in 1863, were put to death. "After this," says the chronicler so often quoted, "the search for *rônins* was so vigilantly conducted that no one was left to advocate the expulsion of the barbarians. Nevertheless, all the clans sent in repeated memorials, advising that Chôshiu should be allowed to enter Kiôto, the seven nobles re-instated, and the expulsion of the barbarians once more decreed, but as his Majesty turned a deaf ear to their entreaties, they looked up to heaven and lamented. Every one felt that if this state of things continued, the Empire was certain to become the theatre of civil war, and the fortunes of the Tokugawa family would become precarious; the sensation was like walking on a thin sheet of ice."

Shôgun  
obtains ap-  
pointments  
for some  
nobles.

But the shôgun had influence enough in the month of May to obtain a number of appointments for nobles, "as a reward for the exertions made by the recipients in the service of the State."

Sir R.  
Alcock ob-  
tains copies  
of the  
imperial  
message  
and the  
shôgun's  
answer.

In the month of April, however, copies of the second Imperial message already transcribed as having been conveyed to the shôgun and all who were present at the audience of the 28th of February (see p. 364), and of the shôgun's answer of the 21st of March (see p. 369), came into Sir R. Alcock's hands, and from them it was natural for him to conclude that the shôgun's policy was to attempt the expulsion of foreigners as soon as his preparations for attack and defence were sufficiently advanced, or foreigners were found sufficiently off their guard to ensure success.

Concludes  
that the  
shôgun's  
policy was  
to expel  
foreigners.

The preparations would doubtless, as the Envoy remarked, require a long time to mature, if, during the process, Great Britain or other treaty powers should find it convenient to keep a large force available on the spot. But if the withdrawal of coercive means, even for a brief interval, placed the foreigners at an obvious disadvantage, the attack might be precipitated before the preparations were complete.

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XXIII.

In the month of May Takémoto Kai no Kami, an official high in the confidence of the bakufu, was sent to Yokohama to communicate with the British Minister. The object of his visit was to deprecate any interference on the part of the foreign Representatives in the affair of the Prince of Chôshiu, and to impart certain information respecting the proceedings of the shôgun at Kiôto, and the satisfactory result attained after innumerable difficulties. A resolution, he said, had been taken to call Chôshiu to account for his outrages upon foreign flags, and for acts of rebellion against the shôgun, and several powerful daimios were to co-operate with the latter to that end. A few days later, when reiterating his arguments for the abstention on the part of the Representatives from using force against Chôshiu until the shôgun had performed his duty to foreign powers by punishing that daimio, Takémoto added that should the shôgun find Chôshiu too strong, and fail, he would then not hesitate to apply to the foreign powers for aid.

Interview  
with Také-  
moto Kai  
no Kami.

It was difficult for the British Envoy to believe in the sincerity of this official, and feeling convinced that the bakufu stood committed to measures for the expulsion of foreigners, he arranged for an interview with the members of the rôjiu then at Yedo, with a view to attempt to check them in their supposed policy, and

May 16.  
Interview  
of Sir R.  
Alcock with  
three of the  
rôjiu.

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Impression  
that an  
anti-foreign  
policy was  
still pur-  
sued.

proceeding thither on the 16th of May, he met three of these ministers at the house of one of their number. The result of the interview confirmed Sir R. Alcock's impression. The rôjiu gave him the idea of men who had definitively accepted the situation made for them, and this, not from ignorance of the consequent danger, but from a choice of evils, and information obtained from other quarters confirmed him in this view. At the same time, both he and the newly-arrived French Envoy, M. Léon Roches, seem to have felt that the rôjiu might be only trying to impose upon them by the assumption of a fixed determination to effect the expulsion of foreigners, and yet were prepared to give the project up, if the action of the foreign powers were to throw grave difficulties in the way of its execution. It was indeed in those days a groping in the dark, when sufficient information could not be obtained to judge with accuracy the policy of an embarrassed and reticent government.

Strengthen-  
ing of  
defences of  
Yedo and  
Uraga.

Alterna-  
tives of  
treaty  
powers.

Meanwhile the defences of Yedo were being strengthened, and batteries were being erected, not only there, but at Uraga, at the entrance of the bay. The treaty powers seemed to be reduced to one of three alternatives : to accept the actual position, to withdraw altogether from Japan, or to maintain treaty rights in their integrity by force of arms. Satsuma had been brought to reason by the bombardment of Kagoshima, why should not the same course of action be pursued with respect to Chôshiu ? Why should not his batteries be knocked to pieces, the Inland Sea be once more opened, and a blow struck which would in like manner convince that haughty clan that it was in vain to attempt to cope with the foreigners ? Sir R. Alcock now felt that the time for striking such a



blow had arrived ; every month deferred would render the position more difficult, and might expose Yokohama to an attack. The British Envoy therefore put himself in communication with his colleagues, the Representatives of France, the United States, and Holland, with the object of coming to a decision on this important matter without loss of time.

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After discussion, the Representatives agreed to a common course of action, which they consigned to paper in a formal document. The English translation of this, and an identic note to be sent in by the Representatives to the Ministers for foreign affairs, read as follows :—

Conference of Representatives, who agree upon joint action in a protocol and an identic note to the Bakufu.

[Translation.]

“The Undersigned, Representatives of Great Britain, France, the United States, and the Netherlands, being fully convinced of the increasing gravity of the existing state of affairs in Japan, have thought it right to unite in order to consider, in concert with each other, the nature of the situation, and to organize by a mutual understanding the means for preventing its aggravation.

“Three points more especially present themselves for the consideration of the Undersigned.

“In the first place, the silence preserved by the Government of the Tycoon with regard to the joint declaration officially transmitted to them in July last by the Representatives of Great Britain, France, the United States, and the Netherlands, on the subject of the acts of hostility committed by the Daimio of Chôshiu in the Straits of Shimonoséki.

“In the second place, the communications which have been successively made to the undersigned



Representatives by the members of the Gorôjiu with regard to closing the port of Yokohama.

“And, in the third place, the joint measures which it is necessary to adopt to preserve the rights guaranteed by Treaties, to secure the safety of their countrymen, and to stay the Government of the Tycoon in the course of open reaction upon which they have entered.

“The Undersigned having deliberately examined these various points, have thus summed up their opinion :

“As to the first point :—

“Considering that the Representatives of the above-mentioned Powers agreed on the 25th of July, 1863, in a special conference, upon the necessity of placing the Japanese Government under obligation to put a stop to and repress the acts of violence of the Prince of Nagato ; acts which have interrupted and still interrupt the commercial navigation through the Straits of Shimonoséki, commanded throughout their whole length by the cannons of this audacious vassal ; that the result of that conference had been officially communicated to the Government of the Tycoon in last July by the said Representatives, in order to prove to that Government that foreign Powers wished to leave to them, in the first instance, the task of bringing to a close by themselves, and without foreign intervention, aggressions which are equally contrary to the Treaties and to the international law of civilized nations ; that, notwithstanding that communication, which dates from more than six months back, no serious measures appear to have been taken by the Japanese Government on this important matter, and that, consequently, it is to be feared that the impunity

afforded to the acts of the Prince of Nagato might become, if such a state of things should continue, a dangerous example for the other Daimios, and precipitate, to the great loss and danger of all the residents in Japan, the avowed project which they proclaim of forcibly expelling foreigners ;

“ It was resolved—

“ That it had become necessary, in the true interests of peace, to recall to the Government of the Tycoon the collective declaration forwarded last July by the Representatives of the four Powers above mentioned, and to make a fresh effort to cause that Government to remove the obstacles which obstruct the navigation of the Inland Sea, and to put a stop at the same time to the aggressive acts which one of the vassal Princes of the Japanese Empire has ventured to commit against the flag of foreign Powers, in contempt of international law and the stipulations of existing Treaties.

“ As to the second point :—

“ The Undersigned have taken into consideration—

“ 1. The communication made by the Gorôjiu on the 26th of October last to the Representatives of the United States and the Netherlands, summoned to Yedo for that purpose, and couched in these terms :—

“ ‘ It is of the highest reciprocal interest that the port of Yokohama should be closed to commerce ; it is the only and unique manner to diminish the prevailing excitement, and to prevent a general rebellion of the people, who hate foreigners.’

“ 2. The official letter addressed by the Gorôjiu to the Minister Resident of the United States, dated the 2nd of February last, and in which the Ministers of the Tycoon announce that a mission has been sent to the various Treaty Powers to propose the closing to

commerce of the port of Yokohama, 'in order,' they say, 'to tranquillize the feelings of the nation, and to perpetuate the relations of peace and friendship, without causing injury to so many human beings.'

"And 3. Lastly, the formal verbal communications which have been recently made by the Gorôjiu, in the first instance to the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of her Britannic Majesty, and subsequently to the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, to the effect that the closing of the port of Yokohama is an absolute necessity which is imposed on the Government of the Tycoon by the state of the interior of the country, and that if this measure should not be agreed to by the foreign Governments, the Government of the Tycoon might perhaps find it no longer possible either to protect foreigners residing in Japan, or to assure the continuance of commerce at the open ports.

"As to the third and last point:—

"Considering the preceding official declarations show on the part of the Japanese Government a determined intention of closing, by whatever means, the port of Yokohama to foreign commerce, and that these declarations, coinciding with various acts which tend to the progressive annulling of the most essential stipulations of the Treaties, constitute, in fact, the commencement of the execution of a project dangerous not only for the commercial interests entered into in this country, but also for the safety of the subjects and citizens of all the Treaty Powers in the different ports of Japan; that it is necessary, consequently, whilst protesting against this unlooked-for demand of the Tycoon's Government, to take measures for the security of the life and property of the residents

threatened by this official language of the Japanese Ministers ;—

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XXIII.

“For these reasons, and being persuaded of the solemn obligations which the Treaties concluded between Sovereign States impose on the policy of nations, the Undersigned are unanimously of opinion that it is their duty to summon the Government of the Tycoon to formally withdraw the declaration which they have made of their determination to close the port of Yokohama to foreign commerce, and in default of a satisfactory reply on the part of the Tycoon’s Government, both as regards the closing of the said port and as to the safety of the persons and property of foreigners and the continuance of commerce at Yokohama, the said Representatives, pending the final decision of their respective Governments on these grave questions, reserve to themselves in the first place the right of declaring collectively to the Tycoon’s Government that they consider them responsible for the least injury which may be caused to the persons or properties of their countrymen, and of afterwards taking in concert such measures as they may judge necessary for assuring, each according to the means of action which he has in his power to dispose of, the safety of the foreign communities at Yokohama, as well as the maintenance of the rights guaranteed by Treaties.

“The above-mentioned decisions have been come to by the Undersigned by reason of the very exceptional position in which the relations of foreign nations to Japan are placed in consequence of the language and proceedings both of the Tycoon’s Government and of the different powerful princes of that Empire.

“Annexed is a copy of the identic note which the Undersigned are separately about immediately to

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address to the members of the Gorôjiu, Ministers of Foreign Affairs now at Yedo, in conformity with their intentions as above declared."

Inclosure 2.—*Sir R. Alcock to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.*

"Yokohama, , 1864.

"THE Representatives of Great Britain, France, the United States, and Holland having, on the 25th day of July, 1863, declared it to be indispensable to the maintenance of Treaty rights that the Inland Sea should be re-opened, they announced such decision to your Excellencies, confidently hoping that his Majesty the Tycoon would effect that object.

"In this reasonable expectation they have been disappointed. The Japanese Government has made no reply to that communication, nor has it taken any steps to put a stop to hostilities which are still threatened.

"It has, on the contrary, shown either its sympathy with those hostile to the Treaties, or submission to their dictation, by asking that the port of Kanagawa shall be closed, and declared that it is only on such condition that peace can be preserved.

"The Undersigned having been made acquainted with the views of his Government in reference to this most extraordinary proposition, is enabled to declare that no such concession can be made. He therefore invites your Excellencies to withdraw such request, in order that the excitement which will naturally attend its discussion may be removed.

"In the interest of peace he also feels it to be his duty to declare, that the Government of his Majesty

the Tycoon cannot safely rely upon the further forbearance of Great Britain, and that it will be expected to show both its willingness and ability to remove the obstructions to commerce which now exist at the outlet of the Inland Sea, and to prevent any repetition of the hostile acts of the Prince of Chôshiu.

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“The Undersigned conceives it equally his duty to call the serious attention of the Government of the Tycoon at this moment to the grave responsibilities which will inevitably fall upon them, if, as the language of the Ministers themselves would lead it to be inferred, any violence should be offered to foreign residents by Japanese subjects, or any damage by whomsoever inflicted on their interests, trade, or property in this country, which, equally with their lives, are placed under the safeguard of Treaties and the law of nations.

“With respect and consideration.

(Signed) “RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.”



## CHAPTER XXIV.

1864.

The Shôgun's audience of leave.—He returns to Yedo.—Triumph of the Bakufu.—Indignation of Chôshiu and the *Rônins*.

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XXIV.

June 3.  
Audience of  
shôgun.  
Imperial  
speech.

ON the 3rd of June the shôgun had an audience of the Mikado. His Majesty's speech on this occasion was as follows :—

“The duties of the bakufu are on the one hand to govern the Empire in peace, and on the other to subjugate the barbarians ; but during a long period of peace, all classes have sunk in sloth, and the present aspect of affairs is such as to wring the Imperial bosom deeply. The shôgun, however, has come up to the Capital, and, in concert with assembled daimios, has determined on the best policy to be pursued in the interests of the nation. His Majesty, in the exercise of his wisdom, has seen fit to commit full powers to the bakufu, and he desires that the orders of government shall therefore proceed from a single centre, that the suspicions of the popular mind shall not be excited. He therefore orders you to fulfil the duties of your office enumerated above. Further, you must accomplish without fail the exploit of closing the port of Yokohama. With respect to the punishment of

Chôshiu, his Majesty gives you no special directions as to the runaway nobles and the turbulent retainers of that clan, but you are ordered to punish them as you think fit, full powers being entrusted to you for that purpose."

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The shôgun replied that he would thenceforward pay in two thousand bags of rice annually for the support of the shrines in Isé ; that the shôguns should in future go to Kiôto to receive investiture on their succession to that office ; that the Sanké (Daimios of Kii, Mito, and Owari) and all the other daimios should proceed to Kiôto to receive investiture on succeeding to their fiefs, and on receiving titles and honours ; that the guardianship of the nine gates of the Mikado's palace should be entrusted to the shôgun's vassals of not less than three thousand *koku* ; that all the daimios should annually make presents to the Mikado of the products of their provinces ; that all playing on musical instruments throughout the Empire should be stopped on the occasions of the deaths of princes of the blood and ministers of State ; and that the palace enclosure should be extended on the north and east.

Shôgun's  
reply.

These and other articles to the number of eighteen were referred to the Mikado, who graciously approved of them.

On the 8th of June, the shôgun had an audience to take leave, and he started on the 10th. At Fushimi he took boat to Ôzaka, where he remained at his castle till the 20th, when he embarked on board a steamer, and arrived at Yedo on the 23rd, to the great joy of the officials, who were glad to think that, by the aid of the Shimadzu (Satsuma) family, the house of Tokugawa had been reinstated, and was once more entrusted with the direction of the national policy.

June 8.  
Audience  
of leave.  
The shôgun  
returns to  
Yedo.

Triumph of  
the bakufu,  
and indig-  
nation of  
Chôshiu  
and the  
*rônins*.

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That is to say, the Satsuma clan, convinced of the power of the foreigners, had thrown its great influence into the scale at Kiôto on the side of the shôgun, and the bakufu's party was once more in the ascendant.

The Chôshiu clan, on the contrary, were highly indignant, and it was reported that the assembled *rônins* of Nagato and Suwô would shortly call upon the ex-prince and the seven Court nobles who were still in Chôshiu to take command of them, and lead them to Kiôto.

## CHAPTER XXV.

1864.

Chôshiu becomes the rendezvous for runaways, &c., called *Kiheitai*.—A body of four hundred leave for Kiôto and arrive at Yamazaki.—Arrival of Chôshiu troops at Fushimi.—Petition of *Kiheitai* to the Court.—Chôshiu clansmen leave Kiôto for Tenriuji in Saga.—Joined by other Chôshiu troops.—Full powers given to Hitotsûbashi by the Court, which ultimately decides to chastise Chôshiu.—Preparations for the Fight.

THE whole of this and the next chapter is abridged from the *Genji yumé monogatari*, and contains the advance of the Chôshiu troops and *rônins* upon Kiôto, and the battle in the ancient Capital.

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The province of Chôshiu now became the rendezvous for runaways and deserters from all parts, who collected together under the designation of *kiheitai*, or the band of irregulars. These fellows concerted with *samurai* of other clans with the object of proving that the Prince of Chôshiu and his son, and the seven nobles, were innocent of the crimes laid to their charge, and of assisting them in carrying out their designs. But as petitions and peaceful measures seemed to have no effect, at last a body four hundred

Chôshiu the  
rendezvous  
for run-  
aways from  
different  
clans, called  
*keheitai*.

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XXV.

July 22.  
Four hun-  
dred leave  
for Ozaka.

strong, consisting of men of divers clans, set sail on the 22nd of July, arrived at Ôzaka on the 24th, and on the morning of the 26th left it in boats, and ascended the Yodogawa. They bore the appearance of troops about to enter on a campaign; and, waving red and white flags from the boats, proceeded up about twenty miles, as far as a spot called Yamazaki, where they landed. Here a barrier had been erected, and was guarded by troops. The news of the arrival of this body of men was immediately reported to Kiôto.

They reach  
Yamazaki.

Fukubara  
Echigo,  
with some  
Chôshiu  
men, arrives  
at Fushimi.

The same day a Chôshiu officer, Fukubara Echigo, started at the head of a large body of his fellow-clansmen by land for Fushimi, and after some detention at a barrier, they reached their destination in the evening, and took up their quarters at the clan *yashiki*. They then sent a message to the governor of the place, to say that they were going to the Capital, and that, having some business to arrange with their clansmen at their *yashiki* in Kiôto, they would like to stop two or three days in Fushimi.

Alarm  
of the  
governor.

The governor was much alarmed at the numbers of the Chôshiu men and at their warlike appearance, and when he received information of the *kiheitai* gradually arriving at Yamazaki by the river, and then of their having actually landed there, he entirely lost his head, and, expecting that some fearful affair was about to take place before his eyes, he got together with all speed a number of *samurai*, and took every means of defence in his power. He then rushed up to Kiôto on horseback with the utmost speed, in order to communicate the intelligence to the Capital.

Fear at  
Fushimi,  
Yamazaki,  
and Kiôto.

The townspeople of Fushimi were dreadfully frightened, and ran about far and wide to hide themselves. Some carried off their furniture and valuables,

while from the neighbouring villages their friends came in to see what was the matter; so that the town was in a pretty condition of tumult and excitement. The same panic occurred at Yamazaki, but as the *kiheitai* behaved very quietly, and committed no acts of violence, the people began to feel rather more tranquil.

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At Kiôto, too, when the reports arrived from Fushimi and Yamazaki, much alarm was felt, and a council assembled in haste at the *yashiki* occupied by Hitotsûbashi. He immediately proceeded to the palace, and informed his Majesty of what had occurred. Thereupon the kuambaku and other nobles assembled together in fright and astonishment. The affair came upon them so suddenly that they were as if stupified, and the Imperial Court could not make up its mind what to do. Various propositions were brought forward, but it was evidently of the first importance to secure the nine gates of the palace and the town outside by stationing guards at proper points, and to reinforce the detachments at the entrances of the city. In this manner an attempt on the part of the Chôshiu troops to carry off the Emperor would probably fail.

Council at  
Kiôto.

Orders were consequently issued to the clans, who complied with alacrity, turning out bodies of troops, and taking charge of the several posts entrusted to their care. A large force was detailed to patrol the city, and it paraded the streets vigilantly day and night. The princes and nobles sent their wives and female attendants, and the old people, to their country houses in the neighbouring villages, or despatched them to their domains; so that the panic in Kiôto was even greater than that at Fushimi, or at Yamazaki. Sick or lame people were sent to friends in the neigh-

Orders to  
the clans  
to turn out  
troops.

Females  
and others  
sent away.



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Petition of  
*kiheitai*  
similar to  
former ones  
from the  
Môri  
family.

bouring hamlets, furniture and valuables were carried off to the four quarters of the compass, and the bustle and confusion were just like what are seen at a fire.

The Chôshiu *kiheitai* encamped at Yamazaki now sent to Kiôto to repeat the humble petition hitherto presented on several occasions by the Môri family. They said further that, in consequence of the decree for the expulsion of the barbarians issued some years previously by the Emperor, they had made known that great principle to the whole country ; the military spirit had been gradually aroused, and they had given their assistance with the sole desire of obeying and respecting the Imperial wishes. The visit of the Emperor to the shrines of Kamo in the previous year had been made in order to pray for success in the subjugation of the barbarians. But his Majesty's feelings had changed in a most unaccountable manner, and they had been removed from the guardianship of the palace, entirely through lies and slanders. The clansmen had been forbidden to enter the Capital, and the seven nobles had incurred his Majesty's displeasure. Unable, therefore, to retain their grief and sorrow, in their position as subjects, they had absconded from their native country, and had come up to Kiôto to present a humble petition, to ask that the seven nobles and their prince and his son might be exonerated from the imputations so unjustly cast upon them. That hoping his Majesty would announce the renewal of his determination of expelling the barbarians, the clansmen and the servants of the seven nobles had ventured to come and make their tearful prayer. That as they were a large body of men, the leaders would do their best to keep them quiet, and that they would certainly not proceed to acts of violence.

This petition having been discussed in a council of the Court and the military class, the decision arrived at was that the conduct of the Chôshiu clan in exciting the *rônins* of the provinces to rebellion, in approaching the capital with a display of military force, in intimidating the Imperial palace, and in making arrogant demands on the Emperor, was incomprehensible. Should his Majesty grant their prayer, the dignity of both the Court and the bakufu would suffer, and both would be exposed to new insults. It was necessary, therefore, that these men should be chastised. Aidzu, in his capacity of guardian of the Capital, was for castigating them without mercy, and the hereditary vassals and officials of the shôgun also urged the same course of action.

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Petition  
discussed  
in council.  
Contrary  
opinions.

The discussion having ended in this way, warlike preparations were diligently proceeded with. But the nobles of the Court, and all the clansmen then in Kiôto, warned the Court and the bakufu, that if they proceeded to hostilities against the Chôshiu clansmen, who had come to Kiôto with the spirits of leopards and wolves, the Empire would be ruined, and the Imperial palace be in great peril; and they suggested that it would be better to accord a patient hearing to the petition of these people, and treat them with pity and kindness.

But the Emperor would not adopt their views, and did not even deign an answer. The Chôshiu clansmen who were in their *yashiki* at Kiôto, fearing to remain longer in the city, left it secretly, and betook themselves a little distance off to the temple of Tenriuji, at Saga, whence they communicated with their fellow-clansmen at Fushimi and Yamazaki, and prepared to renew their prayers and petitions.

Chôshiu  
clansmen  
leave Kiôto  
for Tenriuji  
at Saga.

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Môri  
Onitarô  
joins them  
at the  
Tenriuji.

On the 30th of July Môri Onitarô, captain of the Chôshiu *Yu-géki-tai* (the band which amuses itself by beating), encamped on Ten-nô-zan, at Yamazaki, and proceeded to Fushimi to consult with his clansman, Fukubara Echigo. He was anxious that the men of the clan encamped at Tenriuji should not attempt any violence, for that would be an offence against the Imperial Court. In order, therefore, to keep them quiet, he started from Fushimi at the head of the whole band of three hundred and forty or fifty men. The matches of their muskets were lighted, the flags and banners were waving, and the drums and gongs were beaten. With his men marshalled in companies and subdivisions he proceeded to Saga, where he took up his quarters in the Tenriuji.

Shutting  
of the nine  
gates.

When it became known in Kiôto that a considerable number of Chôshiu men had left Fushimi that morning in battle array, and had taken up their quarters at Tenriuji, the nine gates of the palace were instantly shut.

These nine gates, already several times mentioned, mark out a space which contains the palace of the Mikado, the site of the palace of the retired Mikado, the Imperial flower-garden, the grass-garden, together with the residences of most of the kugés. There is no boundary wall; the gates are placed at convenient points in the streets which intersect the mass of buildings, in such a manner that ingress to the palace can only be obtained through them, or by climbing over the back walls of the kugés' residences. The names of these gates are the Imadégawa Gate on the north; the Inui or North-West Gate, Nakadachiuri Gate, Hamaguri Gate, and Shimodachiuri Gate on the west; the Sakaimachi Gate on the south; the Teramachi, Sei-wa in, and Ishiyakushi Gates on the east.

The palace is enclosed by a wall of tiles and plaster, painted in longitudinal stripes of buff and white. The outer gates are the *Nammon*, on the south, as the etymology of the word signifies; the *Kugé Mon* and *Midaidokoro Mon* on the west; the *Sakuhei Mon* on the north, and the *Hi no Go Mon*, or Sun Gate, on the east, all in the outer enciente. The inner courtyard, to which three gates give access, contains the *Shi shin-den*, or hall of public audience. It is entered by the *Jikkuamon* on the east, *Shômeimon* on the south, or by the *Gekkuamon* on the west.

The Prince of Aidzu, upon learning what had happened, put on his armour, and immediately started from the Kuroda barracks at the head of six or seven hundred men in battle array, and marched to the palace with flags and banners flying, beating drums and gongs, with swords and spears, loaded field-pieces, and small-arms. From the west came also the shôgun's resident and others, with a force to assist in the defence of the palace.

Aidzu  
marches to  
the palace.

At five o'clock in the evening Hitotsûbashi proceeded to the Court on horseback. Cannon and small-arms, provisions and lanterns, were conveyed with rapidity to the palace, in large quantities; and as darkness approached bonfires were lighted here and there in the palace yard, while all night long a crowd of soldiers kept continual watch and ward inside and outside the nine gates; and everything looked as if hostilities were to break out immediately.

Hitotsû-  
bashi pro-  
ceeds to  
Court.

The inhabitants of the city, both gentle and simple, trembled for fear. Their energies quite deserted them, and all remained in such a state of anxiety that they scarcely were conscious of their own existence. But

Fear of  
the people.

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They are  
somewhat  
reassured.

nothing in the way of a disturbance occurred that night, and dawn soon came, for it was the summer season. The troops who were guarding the palace broke up their array, and officers and men marched away. Then for the first time the people began to be relieved to a certain degree of their anxiety, and to rejoice over their regained existence.

After this the nine gates were locked, and no one was suffered to go in or out without permission, and the wicket gate was made the general thoroughfare. Aidzu never left the palace, and made the Emperor's flower-garden his head-quarters. Here his forces were collected during several days, guarding the sacred precincts day and night, until after the riot was over.

Orders to  
daimios.

Orders were sent post-haste from the Court to the daimios of the surrounding provinces, informing them that a large number of the Chôshiu clan had come to Kiôto in battle array, and that it was reasonable to look for some disturbance or other ; that they must therefore at once turn out their men. This order was obeyed, and the troops were despatched to the Capital. The clansmen resident there sent frequent messages to their homes, and the city and suburbs were turned upside down.

Beacon fires  
in Saga and  
Yamazaki.

At this time beacon fires were seen lighted on high in Saga and Yamazaki every night after sunset, and as the flames were visible everywhere throughout the country, the apprehension of what was to follow became general in the Capital.

August 3.  
Hitotsû-  
bashi given  
full powers.

On the 3rd of August the Emperor summoned Hitotsûbashi to his presence, and announced to him that, in view of the disturbed condition of things round the Imperial palace, he intended to put full powers into his hands, as chief guardian of his person.



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XXV.He requests  
Chôshiu  
men to  
retire.

Hitotsûbashi undertook to do all in his power to relieve the anxiety felt by his Majesty. He then despatched two officials to the Chôshiu *yashiki* at Fushimi, to say that, as the clansmen had come up professing to be bearers of a petition, their presenting themselves with arms in their hands was a noisy proceeding. Chôshiu was understood to be particularly devoted to the service of the Sovereign, and such behaviour was quite irreconcilable with the sentiments he was supposed to entertain. That they must at once send back to their country the fellows who had advanced on Tenriuji, while Fukubara Echigo might remain at Fushimi with a small number of men, send the petition quietly through the proper hands, and wait respectfully for the Emperor's orders.

Fukubara, in reply, professed his readiness to obey, but said that he could not give any certain answer until he had communicated with his clansmen at Saga and Yamazaki.

On the following day, therefore, he sent the message to both these places, but as the men refused to agree, he was obliged to return the following answer: that on the 30th of July the people at the *yashiki* in Kiôto had sent in a humble petition, and had then retired to the Tenriuji at Saga, where a large number of them were now encamped. On receiving this information, he had sent Môri Onitarô with a force to keep the others in order, and he was informed that the palace and the rest of the town had been thrown into a great state of perturbation on account of some story about the manner of their march. This had caused him much anxiety, for as entrance into the Capital was denied them, there was every desire on his part to abide by that order, and certainly not to

They  
refuse.Their  
arguments.



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proceed to any violent or lawless acts. With respect to the manner of the march mentioned, the population of his native country liked to be always ready for battle, ever since the expulsion of the barbarians from those parts in the previous summer, and were accustomed always to be provided with weapons of war and other fighting requirements. That though the journey was made in the height of the hot season, they had not even taken with them the articles they wanted for changing their clothes. Môri had marshalled the men in companies and subdivisions all the way from Fushimi to Saga, and had carried flags and drums, for no other reason than that a large number of ruffians were known to be lurking of late in and about the Capital; and besides, these were times when every man was expected by the Mikado to wear his armour and defend himself with sword and spear. As they were passing outside the town on important business of his Majesty, they had made their preparations so as not to be taken unawares, and there was not the slightest occasion for all this excitement about the venerated palace. He feared that this might have arisen from a misunderstanding of the account of their proceedings. The reason of such a number of men being stationed at Saga was that Tenriuji was far from Yamazaki and close to the palace; that although they were a large number, yet if they refused to obey orders they might give his Majesty trouble, a consumption which he desired to prevent. With the wish not to intrude too near the sacred precincts he had thought of withdrawing them; but he was afraid that any attempts to put too much restraint on them might be the cause of even greater excitement among them. Tenriuji had been rented as a lodging for the prince

and his son, in case they should have any affairs which called them to the capital; that it was the same to them as their own *yashiki*; that he thought it would never do to let these men wander about in places to which no ties attached them, exciting uneasiness in the popular mind; that they had better be left where they were, and he would order the officers who had gone thither to keep them quiet, to remain there, and to spare no effort to restrain their passions.

At this juncture two *karôs* of Chôshiu, named Kunishi Shinano and Soné Takébei, suddenly arrived in great haste at the head of two hundred men, and took up their quarters in the Tenriuji at Saga. They had been despatched at a moment's notice by the prince and his son, who were extremely anxious lest any violent acts should be committed in the vicinity of the sacred precincts by the men who had preceded them in the Capital, whereby the Chôshiu clan would become *chôteki*, or rebels of the Court.

Arrival of  
Kunishi  
Shinano  
and  
another  
Chôshiu  
*karô*, with  
200 men,  
at Tenriuji.

When this incident had been reported in Kiôto, the Court and the shôgun's officials held council daily, and there was continual running backwards and forwards between the palace and the castle.

Divided  
counsels  
at Court.

The nobles of the Court and daimios, profoundly anxious that no disturbance should occur near the throne, made repeated remonstrances with the Mikado, and begged him to settle the question with his usual clemency; but as he utterly refused to listen to them, the Chôshiu men declined to quit the neighbourhood, to the great disquietude of the townspeople, who felt as if they were walking on a sheet of thin ice.

On the night of the 12th of August, about five o'clock in the evening, as a man named Sakuma Shiuri, of the Matsushiro clan, in Shinano, was re-

August 12.  
Murder of a  
Matsushiro  
man for  
favouring  
intercourse  
with  
foreigners.

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turning on horseback to his lodgings, a couple of men having the appearance of *rônins*, coming from the opposite direction, suddenly cut him down from his horse, and killed him. They then fled without leaving any traces behind them. The same night a placard appeared on the end of the Sanjô bridge, near where the deed had been committed, to the following effect:—  
“This individual in the beginning professed western learning, and advocated foreign trade and the opening of the ports. He obtained access to important personages, and violated the national constitution. He has conspired with Aidzu and Nakagawa no Miya to remove the throne to Yedo, which treasonable plot shows him to be a traitor, whom heaven and earth cannot tolerate; he is therefore punished by heaven.”

The talk of the streets was that, as a great number of *rônins* attached to the Chôshiu clansmen were at that moment collected at Saga and Yamazaki, this was no doubt a deed of theirs.

The Prince of Chôshiu and his son, not content with having sent up the *karô* Kunishi Shinano to Kiôto to restrain the impetuosity of their men, despatched the *karô* Masuda Uyémon no Ské after him, at the head of a considerable body of troops, in order to assist in keeping the others in order.

Masuda arrived at Yamazaki on the 15th of August, and took up his quarters at Ten-nô-zan.

When the civil and military authorities heard of this, the In no Miya, the Prince of Aidzu, and the shôgun's officials were full of wrath and indignation, and they memorialized his Majesty to order the chastisement of these men of Chôshiu; but another of the Imperial family, Arisugawa no Miya, and more than

August 15.  
Arrival of  
the  
Chôshiu  
*karô*  
Masuda  
with troops  
at Ten-nô-  
zan.  
Division of  
counsels at  
Court.

seventy kugés sent in a remonstrance to the Emperor, signed by them all, praying him in the most urgent manner to deal with the matter in a spirit of clemency, to rescue the people from their misery, and thus to obtain peace of mind for himself. The men of the different clans sent in a like memorial, and the counsels of the Court, divided between the two courses of action, were like the bubbling up of a boiling cauldron.

The In no Miya and Aidzu, however, would listen to no protestations, and maintained with great insolence that if the Imperial Court quaked at the intimidation sought to be produced by the Chôshiu clansmen with their arms, the dignity of the Emperor would fall to the ground, never to be restored again, and that these traitorous fellows must certainly be chastised.

Those who disliked the proceedings of Chôshiu naturally sided with them, and at last the Court decided that the Chôshiu men must be chastised. Every one looked up to heaven and wept, believing that if once hostilities were commenced the whole country would be plunged into disorder, without the slightest prospect of tranquillity being restored at any future time.

It is decided that Chôshiu must be chastised.

On the 19th of August a notification was published to the Chôshiu men assembled at Saga and Yamazaki. It was as follows :—

Consequent notification.

*“ August 19, 1864.*

“In spite of the Chôshiu clansmen declaring that they have come to present a petition, it is evident, from their numbers and the arms they carry, that they are bent on creating disorder. They were told to

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withdraw, leaving Fukubara Echigo at Fushimi, with a small body of men, to present the petition they bear in a quiet and orderly manner through the proper channel, and to await further orders. In spite of this order, which was communicated to them from the Imperial Court, they have shown no signs of repentance. Kunishi Shinano and Masuda Uyémon no Ské, under pretence of keeping the others in order, have followed them hither, accompanied by increasing numbers of men. They maintain that the decision of the 30th of September of last year was not the genuine expression of the Wise Will, and they have sent in an imploring petition, backed up by threats of war. As this attempt to intimidate the Imperial Court is an offence of the highest magnitude, it has decreed the chastisement of the Chôshiu clansmen collected in various places. And as it is probable that the two provinces of Nagato and Suwô share in the agitation, they will also be severely chastised. Those individuals who have come up to the Capital since the rebellion will be dealt with as they deserve, and if any improper behaviour is manifested in their native country, men will be continuously poured upon them for their chastisement."

Prepara-  
tions at  
Kiôto for  
the fight.

As soon as this notification appeared, the clansmen in Kiôto, seeing that civil war had broken out, quickly saddled their horses, drew their spears and swords from their sheaths, loaded their field-pieces and muskets, and got everything ready, including provisions. All the young men were full of enthusiasm at the chance of winning a name for themselves in battle, and they waited with impatience for the morrow.

When the tumult at Kiôto became known at



Fushimi, Yamazaki, and Saga, the Chôshiu men and *rônins* assembled there were greatly excited.

"Let us not wait," said they, "to be chastised with our hands empty : let us rush heroically forth and slay this rabble of traitors."

Fukubara, Masuda, and Kunishi, the three old retainers, tried to moderate this excitement ; but perceiving that the young men declined to listen to them, demanding eagerly to be led forth to fight, they resigned themselves to the inevitable necessity. They sent a letter to certain princes, who had tried, in a friendly manner, to convince them that their conduct was wrong. They said that their own humble clan, with the *rônins* and the servants of Sanjô and the other nobles (who had gone away to Chôshiu), had respectfully implored with tears in their eyes that wrongful accusations might be recalled, the barbarians expelled, and the country's good pursued ; that they had again in this crisis appealed to the Mikado and shôgun, but that their petitions had been disregarded ; that desperate men, being no longer able to restrain their indignation, would now proceed to action ; that they were involved with the rest, and must fight.

The *rônins* also put forth a document accusing the In no Miya and Aidzu of hindering the expulsion of the foreigners, of slandering Chôshiu and his son, as well as Sanjô and the other kugés, of having closed the gates of the palace, and of having conceived the scheme of carrying away the Emperor. They demanded that his Majesty should at once drive Aidzu beyond the nine gates, and order him to leave the city. They deeply regretted the necessity of making a disturbance near the base of the chariot,\* but as it was inevitable,

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Excitement  
and pre-  
parations  
on the other  
side.

Document  
of the  
*rônins*.

\* Synonym for the Emperor's palace.



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they prayed his Majesty would be pleased mercifully to forgive them.

The *rônins* sent round this document to all the clansmen, but there was no longer any way of keeping the peace, and so both sides at last came to blows. "The crisis had arrived," says the native writer, "and the spirit of murder filled and overflowed heaven and earth. It was unavoidably necessary to fire. When the first shot was fired, walls crumbled and the tiles were loosened, and the appellation of Enemy of the Court, which during several centuries had ceased to exist, now came again into being. Many myriads of habitations were destroyed, millions of the people were plunged into a fiery pit, and though it might be called the inevitable course of events, it was none the less a lamentable case."\*

\* It is hardly necessary to repeat that numbers are seldom accurate in Japanese history, and that as a general rule the amount of soldiers in the field is greatly exaggerated.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

1864.

The Chôshiu Troops and *Kiheitai* march upon Kiôto.—A Fight ensues in the Capital, and they are defeated.—Great Conflagration.

THE Japanese narrator was himself an eye-witness of part of the fight which raged in the streets of the Capital between the troops of the shôgun and his allies, who had possession of the Emperor, and the Chôshiu troops and *kiheitai*, and he relates what he saw as follows :—

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August 20.  
The fight  
in Kiôto.

It was on the 19th day of the 7th month of the first year of Genji (20th August, 1864). Ere the day had yet dawned, and while the orient was still clouded, a loud roar arose suddenly, the report of cannon re-echoed repeatedly, and the steps of men and horses were faintly heard, though at a great distance. The sound approached gradually, came nearer and nearer, until it seemed as if one could grasp it in the hand. The head which lay on the pillow was raised, and the ear strained itself in the effort to discover the nature of the clamour. As the noise of swift footsteps became louder and louder, I was affrighted to hear the

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sound of voices crying, "See the marching-forth of his lordship of Chôshiu." "'Tis a fearsome thing," thought I, and rushed to open the door in my night attire. It was then I beheld the Nakadachiuri street full of people. Over their heads appeared banners and streamers, distinctly emblazoned with "Kunishi Shinano Tomosûké of the Chô clan," in bright letters, and with the crest of the Môri family. I thought within myself, "Ah! a fearful misfortune has happened," but I approached nearer to view the procession. There was no mistake about it; it was the Chôshiu *kar* Kunishi Shinano from the Tenriuji at Saga, with his whole force of more than three hundred men; their bodies were defended by armour, and they were advancing from the west up the Nakadachiuri street, marshalled in companies and subdivisions, towards the sacred precincts. The leader, Shinano, was clad in a suit of armour tied with grass-green silken strings, covered with an under-garment of Yamato brocade; and over this again he wore a surcoat of white gauze, with figures drawn on it in black ink. He bestrode a charger, with a bâton of gold paper in his hand. Before him went flags and banners and two field-pieces, with a company formed of thirty spearmen. Companies of forty or fifty musketeers preceded and followed him, in closest array, away towards the Nakadachiuri gate of the palace.

This gate, at this moment, was in the charge of Kuroda, Prince of Chikuzen. His men guarded it vigilantly, closing the doors, and waited, swallowing their spittle, expecting an attack from this quarter. Fearing what might come of it, I followed the rear of the Chôshiu force as far as the Muromachi street, and there beheld the Hitotsûbashi regiment of musketeers

coming up in close array from the south end of the street. I thought something would have happened, but the Chôshiu men quickly closed up to the north side of Nakadachiuri street, and left half the road vacant. The Hitotsübashi troops passed along the south side, brushing the flanks of the Chôshiu men, right up to the front of the Nakadachiuri gate, where they ensconced themselves behind bamboo mantlets, and spreading out their line, poured a continuous fire of musketry on the Chôshiu force.

At this moment, Kunishi Shinano was seated at the door of a druggist's shop, on to the north side of the street between Muromachi and Karasumaru. He had taken off his helmet and given it to a soldier to hold, and seemed to be looking at the fight which the advanced guard was keeping up at the Hamaguri gate.\* Apparently taken by surprise at the sound of the fire-arms discharged by the Hitotsübashi force, he again bestrode his horse, and directed the movements of the soldiers.

The Chôshiu force had for a moment begun to fall into disorder, but they closed up their ranks again and dashed vigorously right at the centre of the Hitotsübashi line, which, seeing the enemy advance to close quarters, broke and fled. The Chôshiu men followed them up hotly, cutting them down on all sides. Some threw away their muskets, and they began to flee southwards down Karasumaru street. The Chôshiu men, who were determined not to let them escape, kept up a dropping fire on them, and they fled in all directions, without making a stand.

\* This gate is between the Nakadachiuri and Shimodachiuri gates.—E. S. (*See Plan.*)

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At this moment the Hamaguri gate division seemed to be in the thick of a warm engagement, and the discharge of fire-arms made a tremendous din. Kunishi's men, abandoning the Nakadachiuri gate, pressed up to the Hamaguri gate, driving the Hitotsübashi division before them. This gate was defended by the Aidzu men, who were determined to die before they would suffer it to be taken by the Môri. Onitarô of the Chôshiu clan rushed up to attack this force, broke through the Aidzu line, and entered the palace enclosure without difficulty, where a bloody fight ensued.

Just then the Chôshiu men perceived Nomura Gohei and Tanaka Nakanoské, of Satsuma, come riding up Karasumaru street from the south, and taking them for enemies, fired on them. The latter drew their swords with a shout of defiance, and cut right into the middle of their assailants, without wavering in the least. Nomura, without much difficulty, cut his way through and retreated to the north, but Nakanoské, being surrounded by numbers, was unable to escape, and was killed. His head was cut off and placed on the top of a kerbstone, close in front of the Hamaguri gate.

Upon this a body of two hundred Satsuma men, carrying banners with the legends First Akuné Regiment, Yugéki Regiment, and Gamo Army, came at the double quick from the northern end of Karasumaru street.\* Kunishi's rear was still at the corner of the Nakadachiuri and Karasumaru streets, and did not know how the fight had gone in the front. When the Satsuma

\* The Satsuma yashiki is on the north side of the palace.  
—E. S. (*See Plan.*)

troops came down upon them as they were waiting there, and fired their muskets right and left at them, they turned round to meet the attack. The *sambô* \* Katsura Kogorô † and Sakuma Sahioyei, shouted to their men, "The enemy has risen up in our rear, look out," and, forming the line the other way, ordered them to fire a volley. The Hitotsübashi force, which had just fled in disorder, took advantage of this movement to come to life again, and the Chôshiu men now found themselves attacked in front and rear. Their spirit became roused, and they discharged their weapons, the hand-to-hand musketry combat lasting a considerable while. Both sides fired till the bullets fell as thick as rain-drops, and the spears crossing each other looked like a hedge of bamboo-grass.

In the midst of it all, Uchida Yasaburô, a runaway from Higo, darted out of the Chôshiu line, carrying a long ashen pole covered with iron nails, and shouting his war-cry, rushed at the enemy, cutting them down on every side. In one moment he had levelled four or five of the Hitotsübashi men to the earth, when the Satsuma troops, seeing that they were wavering from the effects, suddenly poured an unexpected fire right into the centre of the Chôshiu force, who were scattered to the four winds at once. One division retreated westwards by the Nakadachiuri street, and another escaped to the south by the Karasumaru street, followed up by the Satsuma troops, who fired rockets at them, the noise of which was like hundreds and thousands of thunderbolts falling, and

\* *Sambô* means "assistant strategist."

† Now known as Kido Jiunichirô, a Sangi or member of the present Council of State of the Mikado, and one of the late special Embassy to Tréaty Powers.—E. S.



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re-echoed far away among the hills. Wherever the muzzles of their barrels were pointed, right up to the canal, stones and dust flew about, and smoke filled the air for several hundred yards, so that the forms of objects were scarcely to be distinguished. Satsuma recklessly kept up a continuous fire, and fourteen or fifteen Chôshiu men were knocked over by it on the spot, besides an unknown number who were wounded. All fled, and not a single Chôshiu man was to be seen in the place. I had escaped into the houses of citizens in Nakadachiuri and Karasumaru streets, from which I had been unable up to this moment to find exit. I had been lying concealed, fearing, if I ventured to take to flight, that I might be hit by a stray bullet, and lose my life. A road to safety was now opened to me for the first time, and breaking down the fence at the back of the house, I came out into Muromachi street, and managed to find my way back to my own humble cottage. I sent my wife and children a long way off, for it was dangerous to leave them where they were, and I was myself preparing to flee, with a collection of the most necessary articles, when the roar of guns became more frequent and louder than ever, and I heard two or three cannon fired. Suddenly the heavens and earth shook and trembled, and the noise was loud enough to burst in one's ears, and knock down the window-slides and doors. At the same moment black smoke arose from two places away on the south-east, (one was the kuambaku's palace, the other the Chôshiu *yashiki*), right to the clouds, darkening the heavens, and fierce flames rose up, as if the whole universe were on fire; the battle-cries of the combatants and the lamentations and cries of the townspeople were mingled together,

and re-echoed in the valleys. On issuing forth into the street, I found people of all classes, ages, and of both sexes, in a fearful state of fright. They were carrying off their various property, and running about wildly to all points of the compass. The soldiery, too, brandishing swords and spears, rushed hither and thither without ceasing. Here and there were *samurai* fighting desperately, and the bullets flew about overhead like axletrees.\* There were helmets and cuirasses that had been cast away by their owners, and spears, pikes, bows, muskets, and military equipments of all kinds were lying about in quantities. Some of the townspeople had fled, throwing down their property in the street on the way. Lying prostrate here and there were men who had fallen down wounded, and the roads were full of headless corpses. It was a sight revolting to the eyes. Steeling myself to these things, I passed through, and with great difficulty at last escaped from the town.

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Thus far the author's personal experiences. He then proceeds to give a regular account of the fight, from which the following details are taken :—

The Prince of Aidzu, as protector of Kiôto, had been encamped in the Mikado's flower-garden since the 25th of July, and had taken on himself the guardianship of the Imperial dwelling.

Aidzu is encamped in the Mikado's flower-garden.

The Chôshiu men were determined, if possible, to oust the prince from his position, and if necessary to kill him. With this intent they made arrangements to start from the three points where they were estab-

The three Chôshiu divisions are to march against the nine gates.

\* Expression often used of a shower of rain, as "rain like axletrees," *i.e.* coming down in streams.—E. S.

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lished, viz. Fushimi, Yamazaki, and Saga, at daylight on the 20th of August, to march against the nine gates in three divisions, and to surround the flower-garden.

Those at  
Tenriuji in  
two divi-  
sions.

The force encamped at the Tenriuji in Saga, numbering over nine hundred men, started about midnight under the leadership of Kunishi Shinano, Raijima Matabei\* and Kodama Komimbu, and marched upon Kiôto. They separated into two divisions, Raijima Matabei and Kodama Komimbu advancing rapidly with one along the streets towards the Shimodachiuri gate, while Kunishi Shinano turned to the north, in order to advance from the side of the Nakadachiuri gate. This latter division was supported by Katsura Kogorô and others. They advanced against the Nakadachiuri gate. In doing this they had come across Hitotsûbashi's troops defiling into the palace, and had levelled their muskets, determined not to suffer defeat, but to fire on these troops and put them to flight. (This is the commencement of hostilities seen and already described by the author.)

One divi-  
sion routs  
Hitotsû-  
bashi's  
force, but  
is put to  
flight by a  
Satsuma  
detach-  
ment.

The result was that the Hitotsûbashi force was broken and routed, and the Chôshiu men were on the point of forcing their way into the palace, when a detachment of some three hundred Satsuma soldiers, coming from their *yashiki*, took them in flank, and pouring in an unexpected fire with field-pieces, put them to a disorderly flight.

The other  
reaches the  
vicinity of  
the palace.

The other division, under Raijima Matabei and Kodama Komimbu, said to number about four hundred men, arrived by five o'clock in the morning in the immediate vicinity of the palace, where they divided into two bands, the one commanded by the former

\* The real name of Môri Onitarô, already mentioned.

advancing against the Hamaguri gate, the other by the latter attacking the Shimodachiuri gate. Both detachments raised a loud shout at the same moment, and were on the point of surprising the flower-garden. But Hitotsübashi, Aidzu, and Kuwana (who was also a firm ally of the bakufu) had secretly placed scouts on the Saga, Yamazaki, and Fushimi roads, ever since the arrival of the Chôshiu clansmen in the previous months, and about three in the morning the first detachment of these scouts had come running back with the report that the enemy's divisions established at those three points were making ready to march at dawn.

Upon this Hitotsübashi, Aidzu, and a host of others had hastened to the palace with their armour braced on, at the head of large bodies of troops well provided with provisions and ammunition. The Aidzu, Kuwana, and other troops were reckoned at about one thousand men.

Every moment further reports came announcing that the Chôshiu men were drawing nearer and nearer to the palace. The garrison were at once on the alert, and bodies of twenty to thirty marksmen were placed in ambush here and there inside the enclosure from the Shimodachiuri gate to the Nakadachiuri gate.

Marksmen in ambush fire on the Chôshiu men, who retreat, but are rallied, and a fight ensues.

The Chôshiu men, in entire ignorance of this, advanced close up to the wall, when suddenly a volley was poured from behind it into their midst, by a body of Aidzu men. Fourteen or fifteen fell dead on the spot, or were severely wounded.

The Chôshiu men, being thus taken by surprise, fell into disorder, and the rear retreated, whilst a fresh discharge of musketry knocked over three or four more of those in front. The whole body now

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began to waver, but their commander, Raijima Matabei, shouted out: "What need we care for the enemy's stratagems? The Fushimi and Yamazaki divisions have already forced their way in, and I see them on the point of deciding the day. Do not let us be laughed at for being cowards. Force your way! Advance, my men!"

Encouraged by this address, the troops advanced with great spirit, delivering blows and thrusts, and cutting at the legs of their enemy, as they climbed the heaps of corpses. The Aidzu clansmen, on seeing their assailants approach so near, threw away their muskets, and used their swords and spears; but overborne by the ferocious courage of the Chôshiu men, they began to waver. The latter poured in such a vigorous fire that the Aidzu troops were unable to hold their ground, and they fled within the Hamaguri gate. The Chôshiu troops, elated by victory, pursued their foe, who, after shutting the gate, fired incessantly upon them from the top of the wall, and from every chink and cranny. The Chôshiu men fired two cannon shot, and then rushed right up to the gate: those of Aidzu suddenly opening it wide, fired a volley, and, taking advantage of the effect produced, about one hundred courageous young fellows dashed forth, and a hand-to-hand fight ensued.

The Aidzu men now heard that the second Chôshiu detachment, under Kodama Komimbu, having made a breach in the south wall, had forced a passage into the palace precincts, and they felt their courage desert them, and began to give way. Their enemies, perceiving this, pressed hard upon them, and passed through the Hamaguri gate.

The  
Chôshiu  
men pass  
through the  
Hamaguri  
gate, and  
another  
detach-  
ment

The detachment under Kodama Komimbu had



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way into  
the palace  
precincts.

indeed, by their irresistible dash, made a breach in the wall between the former palace of the ex-Emperor and the houses of the townspeople, and had all entered by it. Right opposite the point where they entered was a guard-house occupied by the troops of Prince Todo (of Tsū in Isé). A man called Kubô Munizô ran forward ahead of the rest, and announced that the Chôshiu troops had come to chastise the traitorous brigand Aidzu, against whom they had an ancient ground of quarrel; that they had the greatest respect for the imperial Court, and did not fight against any other than Aidzu, and he begged them to look on without interfering. The Todo clansmen replied that they were placed there to guard the sacred precincts, and not for the protection of Aidzu, and that if the Chôshiu men wished to wreak their wrath on him, they were willing not to interfere. So the Todo men retired from the spot and took up their quarters at the Sato-den of Chi-on-in \* no Miya.

Munizô, on receiving this answer, thanked them and ran on, followed by the Chôshiu men, each emulous to be first. The Aidzu clan, perceiving that the Chôshiu men had entered from the south, were all agog to attack them and defend the place, and their captain, Sakamoto Gakubei, exhorted his troops by saying, "Now is the moment to perform the service of a lifetime; repel them, my men; stop their way!" Forty or fifty answering at once to his call, and

\* Chi-on-in is a temple on the other side of the river; occupied by the British Minister on the occasion of his visit to Kiôto in the spring of 1868. A *Sato-den* or *Sato-bo* is a sort of town house, which a prince living outside the city uses, on the occasions of his going to Court, to dress in, &c. The princes of the blood are called Miya, as already mentioned.—E. S.



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levelling their weapons, aimed at the Chôshiu men, and fired right and left at them. The latter, notwithstanding their great valour, found the fire of the enemy too hot for them, and were unable to approach. The commander was wroth, and said, "Will you be stopped by the foe, when you have advanced as far as this, and forced your way inside the gate?" So they also levelled their barrels, and fired by volleys, advancing and retiring, without ceasing. To finish it, the Chôshiu men fired off their cannon, but the enemy also discharged their field-pieces, so they fired at each other till the solid earth resounded to the noise, and the whole neighbourhood was clouded over by the smoke. Both sides lost many killed and wounded in this fierce artillery combat, and the balance of victory inclined to neither.

Another body of Côhshiu men, to the number of about seventy or eighty, came up at this juncture, and attacked the Aidzu and Kuwana forces so suddenly as to break their line, and put them to great confusion.

The Chôshiu men press on towards the flower-garden.

The Chôshiu men, taking advantage of the success thus gained, pressed on towards the Emperor's flower-garden, and in the hope of achieving the aspirations they had cherished so long, advanced beating gongs and drums. Hearing that the Prince of Aidzu, who was the foe they sought, had some hours previously betaken himself to the Court, they felt that their long fostered hopes were disappointed; but as that could not be helped, they determined to go on to the end, with the expectation of seeing him at last face to face; and driving the enemy before them, they entered the gate of the Nobles.

They now seemed to be on the very point of

forcing their way into the palace, and they hurried forward in pursuit of the enemy.

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Aidzu and Kuwana had thus become desperate in their efforts to repel their foes, and their situation seemed hopeless, when from the guard at the north-west gate there came a Satsuma captain with more than two hundred men, who fired suddenly on the Chôshiu troops. The latter, unable to endure this flank attack from a strong body of fresh soldiers, began to waver and break line. The Satsuma men, seeing their advantage, pressed on, and a body of musketeers pouring in a dropping fire at the same time from behind, the Chôshiu ranks were broken, and the men fled in all directions.

They are  
attacked by  
a fresh  
Satsuma  
force, and  
waver, but  
are rallied.

The Aidzu and Kuwana forces, gaining strength from this timely assistance, reformed their ranks and opened fire again on the enemy with great effect. On seeing his men routed, the captain, Raijima Matabei, raised his bâton, and shouted loudly: "Ye dirty slaves of Chôshiu men, if now ye escape death, when do ye hope again to renew the fight? What place do ye take this for? This is the inside of the sacred precincts! Never are ye fated to return hence alive. Though a thousand warriors be reduced to a single one, retreat not, fellows! Advance! Strike!" So at last the line was re-formed with difficulty, and the contest was renewed and remained for some time undecided.

The Imperial arms were, however, reinforced by the detachment of the Fudai daimio Yôdô and Hitot-sûbashi, and with their strength thus increased, they continued the fight. The Chôshiu men fought with the utmost desperation, but their captain, Raijima Matabei, being hit in the armpit by a bullet from one of the

Imperial  
arms rein-  
forced.

Raijima  
is wounded,  
and kills  
himself.

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Satsuma guns, fell from his horse, unable, brave leader though he was, to resist the effects of so serious a wound. The Imperial forces on this rushed emulously forward to take his head, but he, though wounded, exclaimed, "No disgrace can exceed that of letting my head fall into the enemy's hands. Off with it quickly, and depart to the country." And then, as there was no one to cut off his head, he shouted, "Unworthy, useless fellows !" and, stabbing himself with his own sword, fell dead. Then his nephew, in the bustle of the fight, cut off his head, and escaped with it.

When Raijima Matabei, the captain in whom they had put their trust, was thus shot down, the Chôshiu men lost heart, and their foothold failing them, they began to break.

His and  
Kodama's  
detachment  
are de-  
feated, and  
flee in con-  
fusion.

Kodama Komimbu, the captain of the second detachment, now rebuked and exhorted his comrades, and the broken ranks were once again re-formed ; but the Imperial forces, flushed with their success, and aided by reinforcements, finally routed the remainder of the Chôshiu men, and they fled in confusion. Many were killed, and others were taken prisoners.

This therefore disposes of two detachments of the force which had started from the Tenriuji at Saga.

Buildings  
set on fire.  
Great con-  
flagration.

As there was a report that some men were lying in ambush in the houses of the townspeople, Hitotsûbashi gave orders to set fire to any buildings suspected of harbouring them. The consequence was a sudden conflagration, and owing to the previous dry and hot weather, and the accident of a violent wind having been blowing since the morning, the flames, which had been kindled in several places, spread, and the conflagration became very general.

Kunishi's  
division  
falls back  
on Saga.

It has been said that the Chôshiu division under

Kunishi Shinano, which also came from Saga, had been put to a disorderly flight, just as they were on the point of forcing their way into the palace, by the arrival of a Satsuma detachment.

This happened just when the Chôshiu division which had entered by the Hamaguri gate had, as has now been recounted, been defeated, and driven out of the palace enclosure by the united forces of Satsuma, Aidzu, and Kuwana.

The consequence of this is thus related: "The commander, Kunishi Shinano, and his *sambô* Katsura Kogorô and Sakuma Sahiôyei, collected the remains of their beaten troops, with the hope of being able to communicate with their comrades, and to concert with them a new and vigorous plan of operations. But he had now become a rebel against his Sovereign, and every man's hand was against him. The other clans would give no help, but on the contrary turned their arms against him. Whilst his own men were thus defeated and scattered to the four winds, he heard also that Fukubara Echigo, who had marched out from Fushimi, had been cut off on his way, and been defeated. Seeing therefore that there was no longer any hope left, he collected around him a small number of soldiers and fell back on the Tenriuji at Saga."

All the force which had started from Saga was thus defeated, and we must now turn to that which had had its head-quarters at Yamazaki, and see how it fared.

Yamazaki  
division  
starts  
under  
Masuda and  
another.

These were the *kiheitai*, and the Chôshiu men under the *karô* Masuda. The whole number, commanded by him and another officer, are stated to have exceeded five hundred men. They started at a little before eleven o'clock at night, clad in complete

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armour, with two flags in front, inscribed with the names of the gods Kora Dai-miô-jin, and Kantori Dai-miô-jin.\*

When the advancing force had proceeded about half way, the sound of musketry was heard continuously in the direction of Fushimi, and, taking this for an indication that the division under Fukubara Echigo had already started from there, they hastened their march. The sky was overcast, and the dawn appeared close at hand, when they again heard the noise of artillery roaring in the direction of Kiôto. Fired at the thought that the Saga division had got ahead of them, they sounded the gongs and drums, and hastened quickly forwards. As they approached the city, the shades of night began to fade away.

They reach  
the Sakai-  
machi gate.

They advanced to the Sakaimachi gate. The Saga division had already reached the front of the Hamaguri and Nakadachiuri gates, and had begun the fight.

As all the nine gates were shut fast and guarded vigilantly by the troops, several of the officers entered by the back gate of the kuambaku's palace, on the east of the Sakaimachi gate, and were followed by the men under them.

Fight with  
Echizen,  
Kuwana,  
and Hikônô  
troops.

Meanwhile the Echizen troops, to whom was entrusted the defence of the Sakaimachi gate, began to fire at the back gate of the kuambaku's palace. They were, however, met by such volleys from the other side that they deserted their post, and were fleeing in con-

\* Kora Dai-miô-jin is the name under which Takénouchi no Sukuné was canonized as a Kami. He was Prime Minister of Jingo Kôgô, the conqueress of Corea. He was a mighty warrior, and is said to have lived over 250 years.

Kantori Dai-miô-jin is the name under which Futsunushi, who with Takémikadzuchi was sent from heaven to conquer Japan, was canonized.—E. S.



fusion, when about one hundred men of the Kuwana clans came running to their aid. Greatly encouraged by this, they re-formed their broken ranks, in conjunction with the Kuwana men.

But their adversaries of Chôshiu, nothing daunted, attacked the united force of Echizen and Kuwana, and, driving it back, were about to force their way into the Imperial flower-garden. Just then, Ii Kamon no Kami, the lord of Hikoné, came from his head-quarters in the city at the head of more than eight hundred men, and the forces of the three clans of Echizen, Kuwana, and Hikoné joining together, attacked the men of Chôshiu.

Then ensued a fight, some of the incidents of which are thus characteristically related :

“Forth from the Hikoné rushed Saigô Masanoské, shouting that he was the first spearman, and darted with his spear among the Chôshiu men. Then a run-away of Chikuzen, named Nakamura Tsunéjirô, thrust forth his spear from the midst of the Chôshiu, saying, ‘Here ! try if you can meet my spear-point ;’ and the two spears were seen for a short time thrusting and parrying, while those who held them brought all their hidden skill into play. Perhaps it was that Nakamura’s superior courage gave him the victory, for at last he thrust Saigô right through the breast, and ran up to take his head. But Awoki Tsuyémon, of the Hikoné clan, determined not to let the slayer of his friend escape, ran up and thrust his spear right into Nakamura’s side, who was thus killed.

“Then Utsugi Sanshirô, Soné Saijurô, and Kamiô Sozaëmon and others of the Hikoné clan, cut their way into the midst of the Chôshiu force, and performed prodigies of valour ; upon which Nawa



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Matajirô, a hot-blooded young warrior, darted out shouting his name, and brought Utsugi Sanshirô, the foremost, to the ground with one thrust of his spear. Soné and Kamiô seeing this, resolved not to let a foeman so worthy of their steel escape, and fell upon him straightway ; and Nawa, after defending himself against both at once, at last fell dead at the hands of the Hikôné clan.

“Then Sawa Soda of the Hikôné clan engaged in single combat with Abé Goichi of Chôshiu, and the latter, being already tired with all the fighting he had done, was killed in his turn.”

The leaders of the Hikôné troops, having commenced the fight, were striving vigorously to enter the Kuambaku's garden, and the Chôshiu men were equally determined to prevent them from so doing. One band made a sortie from the postern in the northern wall, and, levelling their pieces, poured in a dropping fire, retreating as they fired, and firing as they retreated. Many of the Echizen and Hikôné men were struck down by this fire, and others were wounded. The combatants fought indifferently with fire-arms or with spears, and a hand to hand contest continued for some time, without the victory inclining to either side.

At this moment, however, the fight that had been going on in front of the gate of the Nobles, as recounted above, came to an end, and all the Chôshiu forces (those which had come from Saga) withdrew from the interior of the palace. A large body of Aidzu men were therefore enabled to join the fight from the north side. To these were added a body of Satsuma men, and Hitotsûbashi himself arrived at the head of four or five hundred troops, to lead the attack on horseback.

Arrival of  
the troops  
which had  
defeated  
the Chôshiu  
men from  
Saga.

This division of Chôshiu was very brave, and, despising death, met the "innumerable host" of Hitotsübashi, Aidzu, Satsuma, Echizen, Hikoné, and Kuwana men without flinching.

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Hitotsübashi therefore ordered up two companies of infantry and two pieces of cannon, and the contest became more desperate. But the Imperial forces were constantly reinforced by fresh bodies of men, while the Chôshiu troops lost numbers of killed and wounded in each skirmish, so that their strength was very considerably reduced.

An aide-de-camp now came running up to inform Hitotsübashi that his presence was required at the palace on business of great urgency. He at once left his men, and, accompanied by one or two followers, proceeded to the palace. There he was met by a number of kugés, who asked how the battle was going. Hitotsübashi answered that he was confident of gaining the victory. The nobles then said that, though there might be disgrace in making peace after a defeat, there could be none in offering terms when the victory had been already gained. Several bullets had already found their way into the Mikado's courtyard, and the thunder of musketry was so loud as to make them fear for his Majesty's safety. It would be advisable therefore to make peace, and to order the Prince of Chôshiu and his son to come up to the Capital. Hitotsübashi was highly indignant at the proposition, and said that it was impossible to entertain the notion of making any terms with brigands who had fired against the sacred precincts; that, for his own part, he felt it his duty not to let a single rebel escape. If, however, the contest lasted much longer, and the opposition Miyas secretly made peace, the Empire would be brought to

Hitotsübashi summoned to the palace.

Desire of kugés to make peace.

Hitotsübashi's indignation.

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He orders  
buildings  
to be fired.

the brink of ruin, and the very existence of the Tokugawa family imperilled. He felt therefore that the best policy was to settle the affair with all possible speed, and to that end he gave orders for attacking parties to be sent round to the back from the Hamaguri and Sakaimachi gates, to kindle fires all round and lay everything in ashes.

The kuambaku's  
palace is  
burnt.

The soldiers engaged in the assault obeyed with alacrity, and threw shell after shell into the roof of Takadzukasa's sleeping apartments. Suddenly the devouring flames blazed forth and upwards, and the whole interior of his palace was filled with smoke, so that it was impossible to distinguish even the nearest objects. The neighbouring streets, occupied by the townspeople, were also set on fire here and there, so that the rebels were soon surrounded by a circle of flames.

The remnant of the  
Chôshiu  
force take  
to flight.

After much desperate fighting, the Chôshiu force became so enfeebled that it could do no more. Several of the officers, who had been severely wounded, committed *hara kiri* after the usual Japanese fashion, and in order to prevent their heads from falling into their enemy's hands, they threw themselves dying into the flames of the burning buildings.

Other captains made up their minds to retreat, and joining themselves to the Saga and Fushimi divisions, endeavoured to bring their fallen fortunes to life again. So they collected the remnants of the force, and prepared to make a sudden sortie with the object of breaking through the enemy, and thus escaping.

The position of the Imperial troops round the burning palace of the kuambaku was this: at the front gate were collected the forces of Echizen, Kuwana, and a division of Hikoné; at the north gate, the

troops of Hitotsūbashi, Satsuma, and Aidzu; at the back gate, another division of Hikoné. The remnants of the Chōshiu troops, however, opened the back gate suddenly, discharged a volley into the midst of the enemy, and with loud shouts cut their way through, and escaped in different directions.

The intention of these men to put themselves in communication with the Saga and Fushimi divisions, in order to make a fresh attack, could not be carried out; we have already seen that the forces under Kunishi Shinano and Raijima Matabei had been routed, the latter captain being dead, and the former could not then be found. The Chōshiu *yashiki* at Kawaramachi in Kiôto had also been burnt by the *rusiu*, or official in charge, when he heard of his clan's defeat.

Burning of  
the Chōshiu  
*yashiki* in  
Kiôto.

We will now turn to the remaining Chōshiu division under Fukubara Echigo.

Division  
under  
Fukubara  
Echigo  
starts from  
Fushimi.

He had been quartered in the clan *yashiki* at Fushimi, had previously agreed with the divisions at Yamazaki and Saga as to the plan of operations, and true to time, had already on the previous evening got his horses ready for the march into Kiôto. So he started from Fushimi a little after midnight.

Echigo was mounted on horseback, and held a bâton of white paper in his hand. He wore a mantle of scarlet embroidered with his crest, the plant trefoil, and under it a suit of armour adorned with purple fastenings. His head-covering was a warrior's cap of bronzed leather. His appearance was everything that is dignified and impressive. Right in front of him went a flag emblazoned with the line and three stars,\*

\* The crest of Chōshiu is a line with three spots underneath, arranged in the form of a triangle with the apex downwards.—E. S.

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together with two field-pieces and fifty or sixty muskets. Lighted lanterns and pine-torches were borne before and behind in large numbers. The whole force, amounting to about five hundred men, crossed the bridge leading from the town, and advanced towards Kiôto.

The scouts and spies of the daimios, on seeing the start take place, imagined that the Chôshiu men were retiring to Yamazaki, as an order had been given to them to quit their barracks at the three points that morning, and return to their native country; but when the latter took the high road from Fushimi to Kiôto, they perceived that the intention was to surprise the Capital; and they set off in great haste and alarm, to make their several reports.

Stratagem  
of the  
Ogaki  
troops who  
guarded the  
road.

The Chôshiu force advanced as far as the temple of Hôjuji at Fukakusa, where the Ogaki troops had been already encamped to guard the road. Their captain, on hearing of the enemy's approach, gave orders to place a couple of hundred men right and left of the road, and to light a number of beacon fires, then to take the mats out of the peasants' houses and make a barricade of them, and to lengthen the lantern-poles two feet. This stratagem was intended to make the enemy's aim uncertain.

The second division, consisting of two hundred men, was stationed about two hundred and fifty yards behind the first.

The Chôshiu force, ignorant of these dispositions, advanced as far as the Sujikae bridge, when the Ogaki men unexpectedly discharged a cannon, which was succeeded by a dropping fire of musketry. The Chôshiu men, disconcerted by the report of a big gun so close to their ears, seemed unable to advance, when



one of their officers shouted out : “ The enemy has an ambuscade, methinks ; look out sharp. Advance, ye men ! ” A quantity of strong powder was rammed down the two field-pieces, which were discharged with a bang loud enough to crumble the hills and valleys into one mass ; and they followed this up by a discharge of musketry as thick as axletrees.

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The first division of the Ogaki force being unable to endure the severity of the fire, broke its ranks, and the Chôshiu men following up their advantage, fell upon them with the sword, and they fled helter-skelter, abandoning two field-pieces. The Chôshiu men made prizes of the cannon, and continued to keep up the fire.

One division of the  
Ogaki  
guard is put  
to flight.

Flushed with this successful commencement, they were advancing again, taking aim at the lanterns so cunningly placed in position beforehand by the Ogaki men, so that their bullets flew high up in the air. Unaware of this, and seeing no signs of an enemy anywhere in the neighbourhood, they became negligent, fancying that the foe, frightened by their immense prowess, had abandoned their camp, and fled away ; and they were marching on with this idea, when suddenly three cannon shots were fired right into their midst, followed immediately by a continuous fire of musketry, by which seven or eight Chôshiu men were knocked down with a clatter. Under these circumstances of surprise and confusion, the Ogaki men appeared here and there out of the houses, and falling vigorously upon the Chôshiu force, killed and wounded a large number. The first division of the Ogaki men, which had been defeated a few minutes previously, perceiving that their side was now getting the best of it, came running back, and saluted the foe with a volley.

The  
Chôshiu  
men fall  
into the  
ambuscade.



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The Sabae  
guards  
come up.

The  
Chôshiu  
troops are  
hard  
pressed, and  
Fukubara  
is wounded.

There were certain guards at the bridge over the river behind Fushimi which runs past Uji from Lake Biwa, who belonged to the fudai daimio of Sabae. These hearing the noise, came running up to aid the men of Ogaki, and the Chôshiu force was hard pressed. The leader, Fukubara Echigo, was shot through the shoulder, and fell from his horse. The other side seeing this, gained fresh energy, and strove who should be first to come up with him and take his head.

But the Chôshiu warriors, determined not to allow their leader to be killed, withstood the onslaught, and his body-guard, taking advantage of this, drew him away, and conducted him in safety back to the *yashiki* in Fushimi, where he remained for the moment. He was so severely wounded that he could not sit on horseback, but had to be carried in a litter.

Imperial  
reinforce-  
ments.  
Rout of  
Chôshiu  
men, who  
retreat to  
Yamazaki.

Other detachments of Aidzu, Kuwana, and Hikoné men were despatched to the scene of conflict, and the latter fell upon the Chôshiu rear-guard, and completed the rout. All hope of reaching Kiôto was now lost, and the remnants of the division, turning south, gradually retreated, fighting their way bravely. A further attempt, by a reassembled force of over three hundred men, to march on Kiôto, also failed, and the remnants of the detachment retreated to Yamazaki, whereupon the Chôshiu *yashiki* at Fushimi was fired by soldiers of Hikoné, and it, as well as a number of the adjacent houses, was burnt.

The whole  
Chôshiu  
force is  
therefore  
defeated.

The different Chôshiu divisions which attacked Kiôto were therefore defeated and driven back. But it was supposed that some of the clan still remained concealed in the larger temples, and in houses belonging to the townspeople ; and in order to discover whether

this was the case, a general inspection of the city was made by the Aidzu, Echizen, and Hikoné clans, by a certain patrol, and by the city police. All suspicious persons were arrested or killed on the spot, and houses were set on fire here and there, so that the whole Capital was at last involved in one general conflagration. Shintô shrines and Buddhist temples, palaces of princes of the blood, and of nobles of the Court and clans, were reduced to ashes. Whole quarters were laid waste by the different fires, and on the morning of the 21st of August the flames, fanned by a high wind, were still to be seen rising into the air.

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XXVI.

General  
conflagra-  
tion in  
Kiôto.

Thirty-seven individuals implicated in the Chôshiu affair were confined in a prison, and were there decapitated.

Thirty-  
seven indi-  
viduals  
decapi-  
tated.

The following verses, bidding farewell to life, were, as was usual, composed on this occasion :

*Chinese verses by the loyal subject Nakatomi.*

"I approach with my body the dragon-fetters and the tiger's mouth ;  
My fame, cut short in mid career, is but a dream.  
My body will shortly be buried in the desert ;  
Who will write down as a loyal heart a victim of the law ? "

*Japanese stanza (by the same).*

"The day has come when I must cast away  
The life which I have devoted to my prince."

*Japanese stanza by Kawamura Hidénari.*

"My soul shall live long in Nagato,  
Under the shadow of a prince who grieves for the age."

There was a report on the morning of the 21st in the city of Kiôto that the Chôshiu clan was still

Burning of  
buildings at  
the Ten-  
riuji.

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ensconced in the Tenriuji at Saga, and the Satsuma clan was ordered to go and attack it. Yoshida Shintarô and Hiuga Nawoské proceeded thither in consequence, at the head of three hundred men of that clan, all clad in complete armour, and dragging with them some cannon.

By this time all the Chôshiu clan had escaped, leaving only two or three of the rank and file, who had loitered behind. These were arrested, and every corner examined to see if others were not hidden about the place. As no suspicious individuals were found, they made prize of the provisions stored there, and of the arms and so forth which had been left behind, and driving out the priests, fired into the abbot's private apartments and kitchen, setting them on fire. The hall of worship, the founder's hall, the pagoda, seven small shrines, the Sen shin tei,\* and the Sangenya in front of Arashiyama, were all burnt to the ground. However, the other buildings, including the library of sacred books, the bell tower, the Shari† shrine, the gate used by the Imperial envoys on their visits to the temple, and the great gate, were left unhurt. As the temple of Hôrinji had also been occupied by the Chôshiu clan up to the previous day, it was set fire to, and laid in ashes. The "unrivalled wild cherry-trees" which were in full leaf were also destroyed. As nobody was found concealed or lurking about the place, they gave the whole of the five hundred bags of rice, of which they had made booty, to those who had suffered by the fire.

Now, the soldiers who had escaped being killed after the defeat at Kiôto gradually collected at Ten-

\* A sort of summer-house, probably.—E. S.

† Shari is a Buddha.—E. S.

nô-zan by Yamazaki, and discussed the advisability of renewing the attempt. The *kiheitai* were of opinion that they should get together all the men who were left, and occupying the mountain,\* resist the attack of the Imperial forces. They would be able to have a fight and annoy the enemy, and hold out for two or three days at least, during which interval the Prince of Chôshiu would arrive. They might then heroically decide the issue. In spite of the ardour of these men, there were others who, having been disappointed in their expectations on this occasion, thought there was no reason to calculate on victory if they renewed the attempt; and these spiritless individuals were so numerous, that the discussion was prolonged without any result.

The prince, however, whilst on his road, was informed that foreign ships, as will be afterwards recounted, had made a sudden attack on Shimonoséki, and so he returned home again.

Owing to the attack of the foreigners on Shimonoséki, the Prince of Chôshiu broke his journey to Kiôto, and returned home.

When this news was brought to them, they felt that to be indifferent to the peril of their native country, or to be callous to the danger to which their prince was exposed, was not in accordance with the aspirations of brave *samurai*; and they decided first to hasten down to Nagato and Suwô, drive away the "barbarian brigands," and then it would still not be too late to march again on the Capital, and wipe out the disgrace of their defeat.

Two of the high officials from Chikuzen, called Managi Idzumi no Kami and Matsuyama Shingô, with others, were of opinion that this decision was most reasonable. As they had been the ringleaders in fanning the zeal of the whole clan and of the low class

\* Ten-nô-zan.

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*samurai*, and in inducing them to march on Kiôto and violate the sanctity of the forbidden precincts, how could they calmly sit down under defeat? with what face could they return home and meet the eyes of everybody? Let the rest return to their country, and strive with all their might to do their duty loyally; but as for themselves, they would die where they were, and let their deaths justify them. Let the others therefore be off quickly.

While this discussion was proceeding, the sound of drums and gongs was heard suddenly in the distance; and as it came nearer and nearer, the men concluded that the Imperial forces were approaching in pursuit. In order, therefore, that their retreat might not be cut off, they took eternal leave of each other, and made their escape in the direction of their native country, each taking a separate road.

August 22.  
Imperial-  
ists arrive  
at Yama-  
zaki.

The force sent in pursuit, led by a man of Aidzu, arrived on the morning of the 22nd of August at the village of Yamazaki, and expelled all the inhabitants from their houses. They then proceeded to attack Ten-nô-zan, but found the place solitary and quiet, and not even the shadow of a man was visible. They therefore came to the conclusion that the enemy had already retreated, and went up the hill carelessly, when suddenly six or seven shots were fired from the top. The Aidzu men were greatly flustered at this, and fancied they had fallen into an ambushade, and, in their anxiety not to be caught unawares, rushed about in wild confusion. Three or four were wounded, and the whole force, frightened at the report of the shots, broke and fled. At this moment came voices from the top of the hill, shouting, "Wait, ye Aidzu brigands!" but as they were afraid of having fallen into a trap laid



by a direful foe, they did not dare to approach. Shortly after, a single report was heard on the top of the mountain, and immediately a cloud of black smoke rose to the heavens, apparently from some huts which had been set on fire. Judging from this that the enemy must have retreated, they formed line with care, and marched up to the top. On looking round they saw in the ashes of the huts the bodies of sixteen or seventeen men, who had disembowelled themselves on a common bed of death. As the corpses were already consumed by the flames, their heads could not be taken, nor could their identity be ascertained. A hole was therefore dug, in which all the bodies were buried.

Sixteen or  
seventeen  
corpses of  
disembow-  
elled men  
found on  
Ten-nô-  
zan.

It was afterwards found that, besides the two Kurumé (Chikuzen) officials mentioned above, there were men of Higo, Tosa, and other clans among the corpses. Three others, who performed the last office of decapitation to those who had disembowelled themselves, passed over the hills and escaped to Chôshiu.

A proclamation was now issued on behalf of the Mikado and bakufu, stating that the Chôshiu men had themselves commenced hostilities, and had discharged fire-arms against the sacred precincts; that these crimes were extremely grave. The Prince of Chôshiu and his son had given a commission to Kunishi Shinano, signed with the black seal, from which fact it was evident that they had intended to make war. That, in consequence, troops must be moved up to Nagato and Suwô, and execution be done upon the clan without loss of time. This proclamation was issued to all the daimios, and every one feared for the consequences.

Imperial  
proclama-  
tion.  
Troops to  
be moved  
against  
Chôshiu.

To turn to another part of the subject. The towns-



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XXVI.Terrible  
picture of  
the state of  
Kiôto.

people were frightened out of their wits by these warlike proceedings, and few of them were able to save the valuables they had inherited from their forefathers, or even their most ordinary furniture; nay, most of them were glad enough to get off with a whole skin. Those who had old people, sick persons, wives, or children to look after, just managed to bring them safely away. They wandered here and there, north, south, east, and west, scarce knowing whither to turn for refuge. Some were hit by stray bullets and killed, and many a child lost its father, and many a father his child, and becoming bewildered, were burnt in the flames. Other old people and little children were there, who could not escape in time, and wandering about in the midst of the conflagration, were at last burnt to death. Some were so maddened with grief, that they jumped into the fire and sought death voluntarily, and others threw themselves into wells, and perished by drowning. A large number fainted with fright and excitement, and fell down dead on the spot. It was a terrible, a pitiable sight, which no words are sufficient to express.

In the midst of this fierce conflagration, the ferocious and excited soldiery fired cannon against the plaster godowns still left standing, with the object of catching any fugitives who might have taken refuge therein; and this was done without any warning, and upon the slightest suspicion. A great many persons were wounded in this way, and much property was destroyed. The noise of the falling ruins re-echoed amongst the hills and valleys. The energy of the fire gradually became more violent, until the whole of the Capital was wrapped in flames. All the Shintô shrines and Buddhist temples, the residences of the nobles of

the Court, the barracks of the territorial princes, and the dwellings of the common people were involved without exception in one common conflagration. Even the dew on the grass in the fields beyond Hichijô and Hachijô was consumed by the flames.

This Capital, surrounded by a ninefold circle of flowers, entirely disappeared in one morning in the smoke of the flames of a war-fire, which was assisted in the work of destruction by a violent wind; and nothing was left of it but a burnt and scorched desert. Alas! the loss most to be regretted was that of the triumphal car used in that most splendid of all the festivals of the Blossom-capital, the festival of Gion, which was almost entirely destroyed by the flames.

On ordinary occasions, when a fire takes place, friends and relations hurry to the spot, if it be near enough, to help in carrying the property out of the burning houses. But on the present occasion no one went to the assistance of another; every one was obliged to flee with his property and furniture burning before his eyes. Those who had friends in the neighbouring villages betook themselves thither in the hope of finding refuge, and supremely fortunate were those who were thus enabled to escape the rain and dew. For five or six days no commerce went on at all, for all the purchasers had been burnt out of their homes; and people with plenty of gold and silver died of hunger and exhaustion. Some issued forth into the fields and stole the brinjalls and melons, that they might eat, and were killed by the peasants. Warriors in armour broke into the few houses that had escaped burning, in broad daylight, without fear or shame, and brandishing their swords in a threatening manner,

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seized gold and silver and clothing. There were many cases of this kind. That night no one had a roof to cover him, and many fled, and spent the night in the fields. As it was the latter end of summer, and still terribly hot, the mosquitoes raised a hum, and came on in crowds, till the poor wretches fancied that the enemy had come to attack them. The cries of the townspeople were heard loud and far, even above the hum of the mosquitoes. The sky was lighted up by the flames as if it were broad daylight, and the roar of the cannon never ceased; so must it be when a forest a thousand leagues in extent is burnt. The report of the big guns re-echoed among the hills and over the open country, while the earth was hidden by the smoke. Palaces of the great and dwellings of the common people were tumbling down with a sound of general ruin, like the falling of hundreds and thousands of thunder-bolts. Heaven and earth trembled and quaked, until the end of the world seemed to be at hand.

The fields looked as the bed of the river at Shijô looks when all the people go out to cool themselves in the fresh air. Parents and children, husbands and wives, came crowding together, and passed two or three nights in the open country. They were thankful that no rain fell; so they bore their sorrows, and woke the morn with their tears.

The number of streets destroyed in this war-fire was eight hundred and eleven, besides a village which was also burnt. The number of houses burnt was twenty-seven thousand four hundred. Eighteen palaces of the nobles were laid in ashes, and forty-four daimios' *yashiki*; six hundred and thirty houses occupied by retainers of kugés and daimios were burnt;

also sixty Shintô shrines of all sizes, and one hundred and fifteen great and small Buddhist temples. One thousand two hundred and sixteen mud-godowns, forty bridges, three theatres, four hundred beggars' houses, and one *Eta* village, fell a prey to the flames.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

1864.

Further Correspondence with Japanese Ministers respecting the obstruction to Shimonoséki Straits.—Memorandum of Representatives.—Expedition of two British Ships with two Chôshiu Clansmen to attempt an amicable Settlement.—The Expedition returns without result.—Return of Envoys from France with Convention to open the Straits within three months.—The Shôgun refuses to ratify it.—Departure of combined Squadrons for Shimonoséki.—They destroy the Batteries.—Complete success of the operations.—Convention with Chôshiu subsequently accepted by Bakufu.—Memorandum of Representatives as to repartition of Indemnity.—Revival of Trade.—Sir R. Alcock ordered home.

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Shimonoséki.  
May 30.  
Further note to the Japanese Ministers.

To return to the Shimonoséki affair. The following note was addressed on the 30th of May to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs by Sir R. Alcock, in conjunction with his colleagues :—

*“Yokohama, May 30, 1864.*

“The Representatives of Great Britain, France, the United States, and Holland, having on the 25th day of July, 1863, declared it to be indispensable to the maintenance of treaty rights that the Inland Sea should be reopened, they announced such decision to your Excellencies, confidently hoping that his Majesty

the Tycoon would effect that object. In this reasonable expectation they have been disappointed. The Japanese Government has made no reply to their communication, nor has it taken any steps to put a stop to hostilities which are still threatened. It has, on the contrary, shown either its sympathy with those hostile to the Treaties, or submission to their dictation, by asking that the port of Kanagawa shall be closed, and has declared that it is only on such condition that peace can be preserved.

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“The Undersigned having been made acquainted with the views of his Government in reference to this most extraordinary proposition, is enabled to declare that no such concession can be made. He therefore invites your Excellencies to withdraw such request, in order that the excitement which will naturally attend its discussion may be removed.

“In the interests of peace he also feels it to be his duty to declare that the Government of his Majesty the Tycoon cannot safely rely upon the further forbearance of Great Britain, and that it will be expected to show both its willingness and ability to remove the obstructions to commerce which now exist on the outlet of the Inland Sea, and to prevent any repetition of the hostile acts of the Prince of Chôshiu.

“The Undersigned conceives it equally his duty to call the serious attention of the Government of the Tycoon at this moment to the grave responsibilities which will inevitably fall upon them if, as the language of the Ministers themselves would lead it to be inferred, any violence should be offered to foreign residents by Japanese subjects, or any damage by whomsoever inflicted on their interests, trade, and property in this country, which, equally with their lives,



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are placed under the safeguard of Treaties, and the law of nations.

“ With respect and consideration.

(Signed) “ RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.”

The answer of the Japanese ministers was as follows :—

*The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to  
Sir R. Alcock.*

[Translation.]

June 30.  
Unsatisfactory  
answer  
from the  
Japanese  
Ministers.

“ We have received your despatch of the 30th of May, regarding the firing upon foreign ships by Nagato, which occurred last year, and in regard to the closing of the port of Kanagawa, and have fully understood all that your Excellency, acquainted with the views of your Government, has communicated to us on this subject.

“ Regarding the affair of Chôshiu, we sent the other day Suwa Inaba no Kami and Matsudaira Nui no Kami, Members of the Second Council, to inform you that we were not in the least neglectful of it, but if this affair should be hastily arranged, now at a period when the national feelings are at variance, it may give rise to serious unforeseen events, which, by their disturbing effects, we deeply fear might lead to a rupture of the friendly relations hitherto existing ; and as we have by degrees arrived at the eve of taking a resolution, we request that you will leave the matter in our hands for a short time.

“ Your suspicions that we had sympathies with those hostile to the Treaties, by our asking that the port of Kanagawa should be closed, has caused us much surprise ; we have already explained through

our Envoys, sent last year (to Europe), that such a plan had been found, after long deliberation, to be the only one calculated to calm down the national feelings, and remove the obstructions interfering with the relations of both countries.

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“ We therefore request you will consider the above well, and trust it may always be an object of friendly care to you to make the international relations between the two countries strong and lasting.

“ With respect and consideration, we communicate in answer the above.

“ 27th day of the 5th month of the 1st year of Genji (30th June, 1864).

(Signed) “ITAKURA SUWÔ NO KAMI.

“INOUYÉ KAWACHI NO KAMI.

“MAKINO BIZEN NO KAMI.”

A conference of the Representatives was now held to consider the answer of the Japanese ministers, and to decide on the best course of action to be adopted. The four Representatives were unanimous in their opinion that the answer amounted to a formal and absolute negation of important treaty rights. In regard to the obstructions to the trade of Nagasaki, created by the Prince of Chôshiu, the rôjiu gave no hope of redress or change for the better. And, as far as words went, the retirement of foreigners from Yokohama, the only port where trade had taken any large development, was still insisted upon.

Conference  
of Repre-  
sentatives.

It was then determined that a second *note identique* should be transmitted to the rôjiu, making a last appeal, and fixing a term of twenty days, at the end of which period, failing satisfactory redress, the government should be informed that the four

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Representatives would, without further communication, address themselves to their respective naval and military commanding officers for the means of effecting by force the removal of obstructions to trade in the Inland Sea, and the Representatives signed a further memorandum on the 22nd of July.

Two days previous, *i.e.* on the 20th of July, Sir R. Alcock had acquainted Vice-Admiral Sir A. Kuper that two of the five youths sent to England in 1863 by the Prince of Chôshiu to be educated, moved by anxiety for their master's safety, on receiving the news of his hostile acts at Shimonoséki, had returned to Yokohama in the hopes of being able to find the means of proceeding to the prince's territory, convinced that he would be induced, by what they could report from personal observations of the power and resources of Great Britain, to desist from any further hostile course of action. These youths were Itô Shunské and Inouyé Bunda. (The former has filled various high positions under the present Mikado's government, and was one of the principal members of the late embassy. The latter has been vice-minister of finance.) Sir R. Alcock was of opinion that the chance of opening direct communication with the Prince of Chôshiu should not be lost, as an amicable and satisfactory settlement of the actual difficulties might thus be obtained, and he therefore requested the Admiral to afford to the two youths the means of proceeding on their mission, and to land them as near to the point of their destination as might be compatible with their wishes, and with the safety of her Majesty's ships.

July 21.

The  
"Barrosa"  
and

"Cormo-  
rant" leave

Admiral Kuper therefore despatched the "Barrosa," Captain Dowell, on the 21st, to the western part of the Inland Sea for the above purpose, and with

the general object of reconnoitring, and directed him to take the "Cormorant," Commander Buckle, under his orders. Major Wray, R.E., and an officer from the French and Dutch naval forces, accompanied the expedition.

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for Chôshiu  
with two  
of the clan.

Itô and Inouyé were entrusted with despatches from the Representatives to the Prince of Chôshiu, and the two ships proceeded on their mission with the following orders:—

*Orders addressed to Captain Dowell.*

"By Vice-Admiral Sir A. L. Kuper, K.C.B., &c.

"Having received on board the ship you command the persons named in my memorandum of yesterday's date, and being in all respects ready for sea, you are hereby required and directed to take the 'Cormorant' under your orders, and proceed through the Bungo Channel to the western part of the Inland Sea, where you will make such arrangements as you may find expedient for landing the two Japanese at the point on the coast of Nagato which they may select as most convenient for the object they have in view.

Orders to  
Captain  
Dowell.

"2. As it will be desirable not to create unnecessary alarm, you are to anchor the 'Barrosa' in the neighbourhood of the Island of Himéshima, sending the 'Cormorant,' as drawing less water, and not so likely to alarm the natives, to land the Japanese; having effected which, she is immediately to rejoin the 'Barrosa,' and you are not again to approach that part of the coast.

"3. The Island of Himéshima is to be considered as your rendezvous, and you will await at or near that

anchorage for the space of twelve days an answer from the Prince of Nagato to the messages or letters sent by her Majesty's Minister ; but in the event of no answer or other communication reaching you by the expiration of that time, the 'Cormorant' is to be sent to Yokohama to report your proceedings, and you are at liberty to remain three or four days longer at your anchorage before rejoining my flag.

" 4. Messrs. Ensle and Satow, interpreters to the Legation, have been detached by her Majesty's Minister for the purpose of enabling you to communicate with any Japanese who may be sent to the ship with messages or letters from the Prince of Nagato or others ; but in receiving such persons on board, you will be careful before entering into communication with them to cause the interpreters to satisfy themselves that such messengers are deputed on the part of the Prince to communicate with her Majesty's officers.

" It will be your object to hear what these persons may have to say, and to gain all the useful information they may be capable of affording or willing to communicate, without committing yourself to any expression calculated to give the Japanese a clue to the possible ultimate proceedings of the squadron in the Inland Sea.

" 5. During your stay at the island of Himéshima, you will afford to Major Wray, R.E., all assistance in your power to enable that officer to ascertain the position and strength of the batteries, &c., in the Straits of Shimonoséki and its vicinity, and to make other observations ; but you are to be very careful to avoid any chance of hostile collision, and on no account are you to permit any person under your orders to land.



"6. You will also avail yourself of every possible opportunity for making hydrographical observations at and near the anchorage at Himéshima Island and its vicinity, and more especially with the view of discovering secure anchorages which might eventually become available as a base of operations in the event of an expedition being detached for the purpose of clearing the Straits of Shimonoséki. To assist in the duty I have ordered Mr. Williams, master of my flag-ship, to be lent to the 'Barrosa.'

"7. In the performance of the above service, you will be careful to economize the fuel of the vessels under your orders as much as possible, using sails whenever practicable.

"Given under my hand this 21st day of July, 1864.

(Signed) "AUGUSTUS L. KUPER.

"By command, &c.,

(Signed) "H. H. SHANKS, *Secretary*.

"To W. Montagu Dowell, Esq.,

"Captain of her Majesty's ship 'Barrosa.'"

The two Japanese gentlemen were landed in their native territory, and departed on their mission of peace to their clansmen.

The two  
Japanese  
are landed  
in Chôshiu.

This attempt, however, to settle matters amicably met with no success, as will be seen by the following extracts from Captain Dowell's letter of proceedings, and from Messrs. Enslie and Satow's reports:—

Failure of  
attempt to  
settle  
matters  
amicably.

"On my return to the 'Barrosa,'" writes Captain Dowell, who was then off Himéshima, "on the evening of the 6th of August, I found that the two Japanese gentlemen had returned, but without any written communication from their prince. They stated that they had delivered the letters entrusted to



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them, and that he had sent them back with a verbal message to the effect that he, Prince Chôshiu, was merely carrying out the orders of the Tycoon and Mikado, and that he could not open the passage of the Straits of Shimonoséki without their sanction, which sanction he would endeavour to obtain if the Representatives of the European Sovereigns would agree to delay their proceedings for three months. I directed Mr. Satow, the interpreter, to inform these gentlemen that I was not in a position to receive a verbal communication from their prince; that if they were not the bearers of written answers, the matter, so far as I was concerned, was at an end, and that I should be obliged to return immediately to Yokohama. They then asked if the answer they had brought would be satisfactory if it was put in writing, and whether I would wait at Himéshima whilst they returned to endeavour to persuade their prince to write it. I answered that I was not in a position to say whether the answer would be satisfactory or otherwise, and I could not wait; but that there could be no difficulty in the answer being forwarded to the ministers at Yokohama if Prince Chôshiu wished to do so.

“The Japanese gentlemen soon left the ship, having, I believe, told Mr. Satow that they knew hostilities were inevitable.”

*Extracts of Reports from Messrs. Enslie and Satow.*

Reports  
from  
Messrs.  
Enslie and  
Satow.

“The political relations between the Daimio of Nagato and the present Government have undergone very little change during the last twelve months; and although Chôshiu has done his utmost to make his

opposite neighbour Ogasawara Daizen no Daibu adopt his views, the latter still remains his political opponent, and, in fact, his secret enemy ; in case of an emergency assistance and support cannot, therefore, be expected by the Daimio of Nagato from this quarter ; and the close proximity of his neighbour's territories will probably prevent him from working his guns on the north-east side of the Straits successfully.

“On returning from our second expedition to the Straits on the 6th instant, we were informed that the two Japanese entrusted with despatches for Nagato had returned ; and proceeding on board of her Majesty's ship ‘Barrosa,’ we soon became acquainted with the result of their mission.

“Having left the ‘Barrosa’ on the 26th of July, they proceeded to Yamaguchi, where they were admitted into the Daimio's presence, and delivered the despatch they had been entrusted with to him.

“In reply to these documents, they were directed to state that the hostile attitude of their Lord was the result of orders received from the Mikado and the Tycoon, and that, acting under these circumstances, he was unable to change his policy. Being, however, perfectly aware of the strength of the European powers, and that it would be useless to endeavour to thwart their designs or refuse compliance with their demands, he requested a delay of three months, during which time he would communicate with the Mikado, and endeavour to obtain the rescission of the present orders.

“Some doubts being expressed by those present as to whence the orders to Chôshiu emanated, Captain Dowell desired the Japanese to inform him who had promulgated these mandates, to which they replied

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that they had been issued by the Tenshi (Mikado) and the Kubôsama (Tycoon).

“The two Japanese were then desired to present the despatches with which Chôshiu had doubtless entrusted them, and on replying that they had none, not even a receipt for the documents they had been charged to deliver to their Daimio, they were informed that, such being the case, their mission was perfectly useless. This appeared to surprise them, and they remarked that their return alone was sufficient to prove that their intentions were honest, and that they were acting in good faith towards us. They also added that if a receipt for the despatches delivered to their Lord was required, they could procure it in three or four days.

“To this Captain Dowell replied that they were perfectly at liberty to send the receipt or any other documents to Yokohama or Nagasaki, but that the men-of-war would leave for Yokohama the following morning.

(Signed) “JAMES J. ENSLIE.”

“We were told at our rendezvous that there were no batteries at Kasato, where the two Japanese had at first desired to be landed ; but before parting they gave me warning about batteries which they knew to exist on the Island of Kaminoséki, at the eastern limit of Chôshiu’s territories. When we got to Himéshima, we found that a boat could be procured to convey them across to Tôtomi, where they had finally decided to land. This place is on the coast between the Straits and Kasato, and from there to Yamaguchi, where the Prince was residing, it is only fifteen miles.

“When they returned they had with them only a single retainer, but they said they had been accom-

panied as far as the coast by a guard of soldiers, given them by their Prince.

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“They commenced the delivery of the communication with which they were charged by saying that they had found their Prince at Yamaguchi, and had given the four letters to him themselves; that he had consulted on the subject with his chief retainers, and had come to the following conclusions:—That he perfectly acknowledged the truth of what was contained in the documents, and was conscious of his own inability to cope with the forces of Western nations. But he was acting on orders which he had received, once from the Tycoon, and oftener from the Mikado, and not on his own responsibility, in consequence of which he was unable to give the desired reply to the letters without having first received their permission to do so. For this purpose he intended to go up to Kiôto and impress his views on the Mikado, which he calculated would take about three months, and he begged that the foreign Powers would delay operations for that period.

“They had no written documents with them, not even one to show that they were the accredited agents of their Prince, but told us they would get that if the vessels could be delayed for two or three days. With regard to their having no answer in writing, they were asked if it was the custom in Japan not to answer such important letters as these from the great European Powers; to which they made answer that their Prince had not intended to write an answer until he sent a final one. They were told that such a communication as they had brought could not be expected to be satisfactory to the Representatives of the foreign Powers. They then asked whether they should send a written message of the same purport as the verbal one they

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brought, as well as copies of the orders of the Mikado and Tycoon, to Yokohama, and were told that their Prince might do as he liked about that. This was the substance of what passed.

“I had a little conversation with them afterwards, in which they told me that their Daimio had been originally favourable to foreigners, but had gone too far now to retract, and that they did not believe the matter could be settled without war. They also suggested it as a good measure that the foreign Representatives should throw the Tycoon overboard, and going to Ôzaka, demand an interview with the Mikado’s Ministers, and conclude a Treaty with him. They spoke with great bitterness of the Tycoon’s dynasty ; that they kept all trade, not only foreign, but native also, to themselves by seizing all places where trade was likely to develop itself, as Nagasaki and Niigata ; and they told me that these feelings were shared by most of the people of the country.

“The way in which they delivered their message made me suspect that the original was couched in far more uncompromising terms than that which they communicated. They left about two o’clock in the morning of Sunday, so that I had no time for a lengthened conversation with them on any of these subjects.

(Signed) “ERNEST SATOW.

“August 12, 1864.”

The time for action was now approaching, and the Blue Books give the narrative of the succeeding events. The memorandum of the 22nd of July having been communicated by the Representatives to the naval Commanders, they met in consultation with the following result :—



*Minute of a Meeting held on board Her Majesty's ship "Euryalus" by the Commanding Officers of the Naval Forces at Yokohama, August 12, 1864.*

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"*Euryalus*,' at Yokohama, August 12, 1864.

"The officers commanding the naval forces of the Treaty Powers, at Yokohama, having received the memorandum of the Representatives, dated the 22nd of July, 1864, met this day, on board the '*Euryalus*,' and have taken into serious consideration the requisition to open the Straits of Shimonoséki.

August 12.  
Minute of  
meeting of  
naval com-  
manders at  
Yokohama.

"From the information received from the captain of the '*Barrosa*,' and the officers sent with him, they are convinced that the Straits of Shimonoséki continue to be closed, and that they can only be opened by force. To attain this object, the commanding officers think it would be necessary to take the greater portion of the troops now on shore at Yokohama; and they declare themselves ready to act in conformity with the programme of the policy set forth in the memorandum.

"Nevertheless, they cannot undertake to leave Yokohama until they have been relieved entirely by their respective Ministers from all responsibility with regard to the defence and security of the settlement.

(Signed)

"AUGUSTUS L. KUPER,

"*Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Britannic Majesty's Naval Forces.*

"C. JAURÈS,

"*Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of His Imperial Majesty's Naval Forces.*

"CICERO PRICE,

"*Captain, United States' Ship, 'James Town,' Senior Officer of United States' Squadron in Japan.*

"J. E. DE MASS,

"*Captain, His Netherlands Majesty's Ship 'Metalen Kruis,' Senior Officer of His Netherlands Majesty's Ships in Japan.'*



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This being the opinion of the naval officers, the following memorandum was drawn up by the Representatives, and communicated by Sir R. Alcock to Vice-Admiral Sir A. L. Kuper, on the 16th of August, with an intimation that it was advisable to lose as little time as possible in commencing operations :—

*Memorandum.*

August 15.  
Memo-  
randum of  
the Repre-  
sentatives.

“The Undersigned, Representatives of Treaty Powers, having met and taken into consideration the copy of a minute showing the result of the deliberations of the commanding officers of the respective naval forces assembled at Yokohama, and signed on the 12th instant, have agreed as follows :—

“1. To inform the commanding officers aforesaid that they are entirely relieved from all responsibility with regard to the defence and security of the Settlement.

“2. To request them, in conformity with the programme of the policy set forth in the Memorandum of the Undersigned dated the 22nd of July last, to proceed with all convenient speed to open the Straits of Shimonoséki, destroying and disarming the batteries of the Prince of Chôshiu, and otherwise crippling him in all his means of attack ; to inform them that the political situation renders it desirable that there should be no considerable delay in the commencement of operations.

“3. In the possibility of the Prince of Chôshiu being intimidated by the imposing nature of the force brought against him, and not firing, to request the naval officers, notwithstanding, to destroy the batteries, and take such means as may be deemed practicable to secure a material guarantee against any future hostilities from the same quarter.

“ 4. To request them to avoid entering into any negotiations with the Prince, reserving the solution of all ulterior questions to the action of the Tycoon’s Government, in connection with the foreign Representatives. CHAP.  
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“ 5. To suggest that any demonstration of force in the vicinity of Ôzaka be avoided, as possibly giving rise to some new complications, and in order not to change the character of this expedition, which ought to be regarded no otherwise than as a chastisement to be inflicted on an outlaw or a pirate.

“ 6. To request the commanding officers to secure the return to Yokohama of such part of the squadron as may not be required for the maintenance of a free passage, as soon as the operations here contemplated shall have been completed.

“ Signed this 15th day of August, 1864, at Yokohama.

(Signed)

“ RUTHERFORD ALCOCK,

“ *Her Britannic Majesty’s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan.*

“ LÉON ROCHES,

“ *Ministre Plenipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Impériale au Japon.*

“ ROBT. H. PRUYN,

“ *Minister Resident of the United States in Japan.*

“ D. DE GRAEFF VAN POLSBROEK,

“ *Consul-General and Political Agent of His Netherlands Majesty in Japan.*”

Admiral Kuper stated in reply, on the 17th, that he had entered into arrangements with Rear-Admiral Jaurès, and the senior officer of the Dutch naval force, to leave the anchorage of Yokohama on the 20th, or as soon afterwards as the weather and other circum-

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stances would permit, and to proceed to the Straits of Shimonoséki to carry out as far as possible the operations proposed by the diplomatic Representatives.

Return of  
Envoys  
from  
France,  
with con-  
vention to  
open the  
straits  
within  
three  
months.

A long conference ensued on the 19th, between certain Japanese officials and the Representatives, which did not present any particularly new feature; the usual excuses and requests for delay were put forward, but while the interview was taking place, news arrived of the return of the Japanese Envoys from France. This seemed to take the officials very much by surprise, and they expressed the greatest incredulity, until assured again and again that there could be no doubt whatever of the fact, and that one of the interpreters of the mission had been actually seen and spoken to by the American Minister.

Shôgun  
does not  
ratify it.

The members of the Japanese mission brought back with them the Convention they had entered into with the French government for the opening of the Straits of Shimonoséki within three months. This news caused a suspension of naval preparations, at least until it could be ascertained whether the bakufu would ratify the Convention. On the 25th, however, a communication was addressed by the Japanese ministers to Sir R. Alcock, informing him that the shôgun refused to ratify the Convention, and the combined squadron prepared to start on their expedition.

News of  
the Chôshiu  
attack on  
Kiôto.

About this time news reached Yedo of the attack on Kiôto, already described, by the Chôshiu clan, and a high official was despatched to Yokohama to inform the Representatives of this intelligence, and to state that, though the assailants had been beaten off, an urgent demand was made on the shôgun's government to send large reinforcements to the assistance of the Emperor.

The combined squadrons, which now left for Shimonoséki, consisted of nine British ships of war and a battalion of Royal Marines, three French, and four Dutch ships of war; the United States being represented by the "Takiang," a chartered steam-vessel, with an officer, a party of men, and a gun from the corvette "James Town." The success of the attack is thus detailed by the English Admiral and his officers:—

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Combined squadrons leave for Shimonoséki and destroy the batteries. Complete success of the operations

*Vice-Admiral Sir A. Kuper to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

"*Euryalus,* Straits of Shimonoséki,

"September 15, 1864.

"SIR,

"I acquainted the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty briefly, in my letter of the 10th instant, with the successful result of the operations of the allied squadrons in the Straits of Shimonoséki, and I have now the honour of reporting, in detail, for their Lordships' information, the progress of events subsequently to the 29th ultimo, the day of our departure from Yokohama.

"2. The 'Perseus' having joined my flag in the entrance to the Bungo Channel, with a large collier in tow from Shanghai, and the 'Coquette' arriving at the rendezvous on the 4th, from Nagasaki, the force by which the operations were conducted consisted of the undermentioned ships, viz. :—

"*British.*—'Euryalus,' 'Tartar,' 'Conqueror,' 'Barrosa,' 'Leopard,' 'Argus,' 'Perseus,' 'Coquette,' 'Bouncer,' and the battalion of Royal Marines.

"*French.*—'Sémiramis,' screw, 35 guns, flag of Rear-Admiral Jaurès; 'Dupleix,' screw, 10 guns; 'Tancred,' screw, 4 guns, despatch vessel.

“ *Dutch*.—‘ *Metalen Kruis*,’ screw, 16 guns, senior officer’s ship ; ‘ *D’Jambi*,’ screw, 16 guns ; ‘ *Amsterdam*,’ paddle, 8 guns ; ‘ *Medusa*,’ screw, 18 guns.

“ And the United States’ chartered steam-vessel ‘ *Takiang*,’ with an officer, a party of men, and a gun of the United States’ corvette ‘ *James Town*.’

“ 3. The whole squadron having assembled at the island of Himéshima, in the Inland Sea (the appointed rendezvous), left that anchorage at 9 a.m. on the 4th instant, and steered for the entrance to the Straits of Shimonoséki, anchoring in the afternoon out of range of the batteries.

“ 4. The accompanying tracing of the chart of the Straits will explain to their Lordships the position and strength of the batteries as described thereon by Major Wray, Royal Engineers ; the batteries being referred to in this despatch by numbers corresponding with those on the plan.

“ 5. Having, in company with Rear-Admiral Jaurès, reconnoitred the position of the batteries belonging to the Prince of Chôshiu, it was arranged that the attack should be made on the 5th instant, as soon as the tide served, and at 2 p.m. the signal was made for the ships to take up their positions.

“ As soon as this was accomplished, the action was commenced from the bow gun of the ‘ *Euryalus*,’ and the fire was smartly returned and kept up with much spirit by the Japanese batteries. At about 4.30 p.m., the fire from Nos. 4 and 5 batteries evidently slackened, and shortly afterwards ceased altogether ; and by 5.30 batteries Nos. 6, 7, and 8 were also silenced. The day was now too far advanced to admit of the landing parties being disembarked, but the ‘ *Perseus*’ and the Dutch corvette ‘ *Medusa*,’ being very close to



battery No. 5, and it being too dark to signalize for instructions, Commander A. J. Kingston, with Lieutenant F. J. Pitt, and a party of men from the 'Perseus,' followed by Captain de Casembroot and Lieutenant de Hart, of the 'Medusa,' gallantly landed, spiked most of the guns in that battery, and returned to their ships without casualties of any sort, thus rendering very valuable service.

"6. The positions taken up by the allied squadron in this afternoon's engagement were as follows:—The advanced squadron, under the command of Captain J. M. Hayes, consisting of the 'Tartar,' 'Dupleix,' 'Metalen Kruis,' 'Barrosa,' 'D'Jambi,' and 'Leopard,' moved into the bay off the village of Tanōura, as shown on the plan, within easy range of batteries 3 to 9 inclusive; while the 'Euryalus' and 'Sémiramis' opened fire upon the same works: the light squadron, under Commander Kingston, consisting of the 'Perseus,' 'Medusa,' 'Tancrède,' 'Coquette,' and 'Bouncer,' were directed to take the batteries in flank; the 'Argus' and 'Amsterdam,' being at first kept in reserve, to render assistance to any ship that might be disabled or grounded, were afterwards ordered to close and engage; and the 'Conqueror,' having the battalion of marines on board, was, in consequence of the difficult navigation, directed to approach only sufficiently near to admit of her Armstrong guns bearing on the nearest batteries. During this operation the 'Conqueror' grounded twice on a knoll of sand, but came off again without assistance and without sustaining any damage. The 'Takiang' also fired several shots from her one parrot gun, doing good service. The 'Coquette,' towards the close of the engagement, was withdrawn from her position with



the flanking squadron, and sent to assist the foremost of the advanced corvette squadron, a service which Commander A. G. R. Roe performed with great promptness.

“7. At daylight on the 6th instant, No. 8 battery again opened fire upon the advanced squadron, doing some damage to the ‘Tartar’ and ‘Dupleix;’ but on the squadron returning the fire, the battery was soon silenced, and only an occasional straggling shot was fired from it afterwards. The arrangement for the disembarkation having been completed, the allied forces, composed of the small-arm companies of the ‘Euryalus’ and ‘Conqueror,’ under the command of Captain J. H. J. Alexander, of the ‘Euryalus,’ the battalion of marines and marines of the squadron under that of Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Suther, and detachments of 350 French and 200 Dutch seaman and marines, the former under the command of Captain du Quilis and Lieutenant Laryrle, Chef d’État-Major, and the latter under that of Lieutenant Binkis, were distributed in the boats of the squadron, and towed to the opposite shore by the ‘Argus,’ ‘Perseus,’ ‘Coquette,’ ‘Tancredè,’ ‘Amsterdam,’ ‘Medusa,’ and ‘Takiang;’ the ‘Bouncer’ assisting to cover the landing, which was effected without accident, under the able superintendence of Captain W. G. Luard, of the ‘Conqueror,’ assisted by Commander E. T. Nott, of that ship; and the force proceeded, under my personal directions, to assault and take possession of the principal batteries, which was accomplished with only trifling opposition. All the guns having been dismounted and spiked, carriages and platforms burnt, and magazines blown up, and deeming it inexpedient, from the very rugged and almost

impenetrable nature of the country, to retain possession of any post on shore during the night, I directed the whole force to re-embark at 4 p.m.

“8. The French and Dutch detachments were already in their boats, when the Naval Brigade, stationed at battery No. 5, was suddenly attacked by a strong body of Japanese assembled in the valley in rear of the battery. Colonel Suther's battalion of marines coming up at this moment, a joint attack was immediately organized, and the enemy driven back upon a strongly placed stockaded barrack, from which they were dislodged after making a brief but sharp resistance, leaving seven small guns in our possession. I regret to say that Captain Alexander, whilst gallantly leading his men to the attack of the stockade, received a severe wound in the foot, and many other casualties also occurred in this attack. The whole force, having then been ordered to embark, reached their ships without accident, notwithstanding the violence of the currents, which present serious obstacles to any operations in these Straits.

“9. During this day's action I noticed with great pleasure the coolness and gallantry of the Naval Brigade, under Captain Alexander, the excellent discipline, and steady bearing under fire, of the battalion of marines under Colonel Suther, ably supported by Lieutenant-Colonels P. C. Penrose and C. W. Adair; and I observed with satisfaction the readiness with which the French and Dutch brigades occupied their assigned positions. It was, however, a source of regret to me that the embarkation of our allies prevented their taking part in the gallant affair at the enemy's stockade.

“10. The ‘Perseus,’ whilst covering the landing

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on the morning of this day, was driven on shore by a strong eddy of the current, and, resisting all efforts to get her off, she remained fast until midnight of the following day (7th), when, having been considerably lightened, she was towed off under the judicious management of Commander John Moresby, of the 'Argus' (paddle steam), and apparently without damage.

"11. The batteries, from Nos. 1 to 8 inclusive, being now entirely in our possession, large working parties were landed early on the morning of the 7th, and commenced embarking the guns captured on the previous days; and during the afternoon the 'Tartar,' 'Metalen Kruis,' 'D'Jambi,' and 'Dupleix' moved round to the westward of Moji Saki Point, preparatory to an attack on batteries Nos. 9 and 10.

"12. On the 8th instant I shifted my flag to the 'Coquette' (Admiral Jaurès accompanying me), and proceeded, in company with the four ships named in the last paragraph, then composing the advanced squadron, to open fire upon batteries Nos. 9 and 10. The fire not being returned, parties were shortly afterwards landed from the squadron to destroy the batteries and embark the guns, the whole of which was effected by the evening of the 10th, and all the guns are now on board the ships of the allied squadrons; the embarkation of the guns, consisting of sixty-two pieces of ordnance, of various sizes, a work of much labour and difficulty, was very efficiently performed, under the directions of the captains of the allied squadrons. Captain William Dowell, of the 'Barrosa,' who had charge of the embarkation of one of the principal batteries, has brought to my notice the zealous assistance rendered by Lieutenants W. H. Cuming, of the 'Barrosa,' and R. E. Tracey, of the 'Euryalus,'

and by Lieutenant Costa, of the 'Sémiramis,' which contributed largely to the success of the undertaking.

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"13. I forward, for their Lordships' favourable notice, copies of letters I have received from Captains Hayes and Alexander, Lieutenant-Colonel Suther, Commanders Moresby and Kingston, and the surgeon of my flag-ship; and would beg leave to draw attention to the testimony borne by them respectively to the conduct of various officers and men whose duty was performed under their immediate directions, and in which I desire to assure their Lordships that I fully concur.

"14. In addition to these reports it is my pleasing duty to record the high sense I entertain of the skill and gallantry displayed by the entire force under my command during the operations above described. Of the fire maintained by the 'Tartar,' in the conspicuous position I had assigned to Captain Hayes, as the senior captain, and of the gallant manner in which he was supported by Captain Franchieu, of the 'Dupleix;' Captain de Man, of the 'Metalen Kruis;' Captain W. M. Dowell, of the 'Barrosa;' Captain Van Rees, of the 'D'Jambi;' and Captain C. T. Leckie, of the 'Leopard,' I cannot speak too highly. I beg leave also to bring under their Lordships' notice the zeal and activity displayed by Captain W. G. Luard, of the 'Conqueror;' Captain J. H. J. Alexander, of the 'Euryalus;' Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Suther, commanding Royal Marine battalion; Commander John Moresby, of the 'Argus;' Commander Augustus J. Kingston, of the 'Perseus;' Commander E. T. Nott, of the 'Conqueror;' Commander Jas. E. Hunter, of the 'Euryalus;' Commander A. G. R. Roe, of the 'Coquette;' Lieutenant H. L. Holder, commanding the 'Bouncer;' and Lieutenant Rd. H. Harington,

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of the 'Euryalus,' who succeeded to the command of the Naval Brigade on Captain Alexander being wounded ; as well as Captain du Quilis, of the 'Sémi-ramis ;' Captain Müller, of the 'Amsterdam ;' Captain de Casembroot, of the 'Medusa ;' and Lieutenant Pallu, commanding the 'Tancrede ;' and I have to thank Lieutenant Pearson, of the United States' Navy, for the efficient assistance rendered by him in the chartered steam-vessel 'Takiang,' in towing boats, and subsequently consenting to receive on board the wounded men of the squadrons.

" 15. To the hearty co-operation and cordial goodwill displayed by Rear-Admiral Jaurès, during the preparations for and the progress of these operations, I am deeply indebted. I have endeavoured to express to that officer the satisfaction I have felt in having been associated with him in the conduct of this affair, and my appreciation of the good service rendered by the able and efficient force under the Rear-Admiral's command. I have also conveyed to Captain de Man, the senior officer of his Netherlands Majesty's ships, my thanks for the efficient co-operation and assistance of the squadron under his command, as well as to Lieutenant Pearson, of the United States' Navy, for the readiness with which he has sought to carry out my wishes on all occasions. Without the cheerfully-rendered and able support of these officers, and the perfectly good understanding which has prevailed throughout the allied squadron, the very rapid and brilliant successes that have attended our operations could scarcely have been secured without greater losses and considerable delay ; and I trust that the satisfactory result will receive the approbation of their Lordships.



“16. Much credit is due to the masters of the squadron for the skilful manner in which the various ships were manœuvred amongst numerous difficulties, and particularly to Mr. George Williams, master of my flag-ship, and Mr. John C. Solfleet, of the ‘Conqueror,’ whose zeal and intelligence have deserved my special notice ; and the praiseworthy conduct of Mr. James G. Liddell, of the ‘Bouncer,’ the senior second master on the station, has been brought favourably before me by Lieutenant Holder, commanding that gun-boat.

“17. Mr. D. L. Morgan, surgeon of my flag-ship, has called my attention to efficient service rendered by the medical staff employed on shore under his directions, and to their devotion and attention to the wounded.

“18. I should wish also to bring under their Lordships’ favourable notice my secretary, Mr. Hemmley H. Shanks, and Flag Lieutenant Robert P. Dennistoun, who accompanied me on shore and afloat throughout the operations, and rendered me valuable assistance.

“19. To Major Wray, Royal Engineers, whose services have been placed at my disposal by the War Office, I am indebted for much useful information as to the nature and position of the batteries ; and I have much pleasure in recording my sense of the energy and zeal displayed by this officer throughout the operations, and in the destruction of the batteries and magazines. Lieutenant Crowdy, Royal Engineers, who accompanied the expedition at my request, with the permission of Lieutenant-Colonel Browne, commanding her Majesty’s troops at Yokohama, also rendered valuable service with his men, both whilst



attached to the Naval Brigade, and subsequently in the embarkation of the heavy guns.

“ 20. Mr. J. F. Lowder and Mr. Ernest Satow, interpreters, attached to the squadron by Sir Rutherford Alcock, have afforded me every assistance, and have been most zealous in the performance of their duties.

“ 21. Since the conclusion of these operations, I have satisfied myself, by personal examination of the entire Straits, that no batteries remain in existence on territory of the Prince of Chôshiu, and thus the passage of the Straits may be considered cleared of all obstructions.

“ 22. On the 8th instant, whilst the demolition of the batteries and the embarkation of the guns were in progress, an Envoy of the Prince of Chôshiu came on board my flag-ship, under a flag of truce, charged, as he informed me, with instructions from the Prince to negotiate for a termination of hostilities. He produced documents said to have been written by command of the Prince of Chôshiu, and stated that no opposition would henceforth be offered to the free passage of the Straits. The Envoy also exhibited copies of letters to substantiate the statement that, in the various acts of hostility towards foreign flags recently carried into effect, the Prince had acted under the direct authority of the Mikado and of the Tycoon.

“ 23. Having conferred with Rear-Admiral Jaurès, who was present at the interview, it was determined that, to convince us of the sincerity of the Prince's desire for peace, it was indispensable that we should receive a written requisition, under his own hand, to that effect; and the Envoy having observed that an interval of two days would be required to obtain

the desired communication, a suspension of hostilities for that time was agreed upon, and the squadrons were immediately directed to hoist flags of truce. It was, however, stipulated that the armistice should not interfere with the work of embarking the guns from the batteries, then in progress, and it was accordingly proceeded with and completed as previously described.

“24. True to the time named, at noon on the 10th instant, the Chief Councillor of the Prince of Chôshiu (Môri Idzumo) came on board the ‘Euryalus,’ and placed before me a despatch from the prince (identical despatches being also brought for the senior officers of the allied squadrons).

“25. The very satisfactory character of the prince’s written communication, and its humble tone, afford, in the opinion of Rear-Admiral Jaurès and myself, reasonable grounds for the presumption that, apart from the brilliant success achieved in a military point of view, and the great extent of the injury inflicted upon the Prince of Chôshiu, his power and prestige, advantages of an important nature in a political sense, may very possibly result from the presence of the allied squadrons in these Straits. I have duly informed Sir Rutherford Alcock of these events, and have placed at his disposal the means of communicating with me here should he desire to do so.

“26. A personal inspection of the Straits of Shimonoséki has convinced me of the inexpediency, with the means at present available, of holding any position, either on an island or on any portion of the mainland in the vicinity of the Straits. I do not, therefore, purpose carrying into effect that portion of the programme of the Diplomatic Representatives forwarded with my letter of the 28th ultimo. It is,

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however, my intention to maintain possession of the Straits by leaving here an English, a French, and a Dutch vessel of war, until the relations between the Tycoon's Government and those of the Treaty Powers, with regard to this portion of the territory of the Prince of Chôshiu, have been arranged on a satisfactory footing; the presence of the ships will, at the same time, afford a guarantee against the erection of batteries, which the Prince has engaged should not be again undertaken. I have subsequently had a further interview with the Envoys of the Prince of Chôshiu, who have agreed, on behalf of the Prince, to the terms proposed to them as the conditions of the cessation of hostilities, which will ensure the Straits remaining open for the future: the ratification of the Prince being now all that is required to complete the object for which the allied forces came to these Straits.

"27. In conclusion, I have only to express my hope that the operations I have had the honour of describing, and the results obtained, may receive the approbation of their Lordships and of her Majesty's Government.

"I have, &c.

(Signed)

"AUGUSTUS L. KUPER."

*Captain Hayes to Vice-Admiral Sir A. Kuper.*

"*'Tartar,' Straits of Shimonoséki,*

*"September 9, 1864.*

"SIR,

"You having been pleased to entrust a division of the squadron, as per margin,\* to my command, during the late hostilities in the Straits of Shimonoséki, and the operations having so far terminated with satis-

\* "*'Tartar,' Duplex,' 'Metalen Kruis,' 'Barrosa,' 'D'Jambi,' 'Leopard.'*"

factory results, I beg to report, for your information, the proceedings of the advanced squadron since noon of the 4th instant.

“2. Having taken up the position directed by your general order of the 3rd instant, the squadron under my orders was held in readiness for immediate action. On the first gun having been fired from your flag-ship, the batteries immediately opened on us with shot and shell, the first discharge striking the ‘Tartar’ in several places.

“3. The advanced squadron instantly replied to the fire of the batteries, but it would be needless for me to enter into a detailed account, as the whole engagement occurred under your immediate observation; still I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without bringing to your notice the valuable support I received from the able management and precision of the rifled guns of his Imperial Majesty’s ship ‘Dupleix,’ which ship invariably replied to the guns which were striking the ‘Tartar,’ and showing an energy which reflected the highest credit on her commander.

“4. The assistance rendered by his Netherlands Majesty’s ships ‘Metalen Kruis’ and ‘D’Jambi,’ and the preparations made by them beforehand, showed that they spared no trouble in preparing their ships for any emergency; their rifled guns also telling on the nearest fort.

“5. I need hardly mention what pleasure I felt in finding that the commander-in-chief had given to the advanced squadron the services of so valuable and experienced an officer as Captain Dowell, of her Majesty’s ship ‘Barrosa;’ the judicious and cool manner with which that ship was handled, and the precision of her fire, while replying to the enemy’s

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guns, more particularly when directed on the 'Tartar,' was fully appreciated by myself and all on board.

"6. At 5.25 a.m. on the morning of the 6th, the long battery again opened fire, and, I am sorry to say, with unfortunate effect, the first discharge killing two and wounding several on board the 'Dupleix,' which vessel during the night had drifted between ourselves and the fort. She immediately slipped her cable and moved to her former position, when the 'Tartar' again was instantly and repeatedly struck by fire from the fort; my first lieutenant, Lieutenant W. A. de V. Brownlow, a valuable and steady officer, whose services I desire to bring under your favourable consideration, being dangerously wounded. My second lieutenant, Lieutenant C. B. Powell, immediately took his place, showing that cool aptitude for work which is so valuable in an officer.

"7. Having been directed to take up an advanced position on the afternoon of the 7th, I anchored the ship for the night in the position pointed out by yourself, advancing the next morning while shelling the two last forts on Point Kibune to a position within three thousand yards, when we again anchored, and from thence shelling the forts, which had the effect of making the enemy abandon them without firing a gun, probably in consequence of a barrack taking fire in the rear, near a magazine containing a large amount of powder and upwards of 700 or 800 shell, which soon after exploded, also from feeling the impossibility of coping with guns of such superior power, and the moral effect produced by the fleet on the two previous days.

"8. Throughout the whole of these proceedings, Mr. John E. Chapple, the master of the 'Tartar,'



showed the greatest coolness and judgment in the pilotage of the ship.

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"9. The Prussian officer Mr. von Blanc, lately appointed to this ship, proved his skill and worth in several ways, and I consider him an intelligent and valuable officer, certain to do credit to any position in which he may be placed.

"10. The remainder of the officers and ship's company conducted themselves throughout entirely to my satisfaction.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "JNO. M. HAYES."

*Captain Alexander to Vice-Admiral Sir A. Kuper.*

"*'Euryalus,' off Shimonoséki,*

*"September 10, 1864.*

"SIR,

"I have the honour to state, in compliance with your directions to report as to the proceedings of the Naval Brigade landed under my command from her Majesty's ships '*Euryalus*' and the '*Conqueror*,' in the Straits of Shimonoséki, on the morning of the 6th instant, that, having formed on the beach in the order prescribed by you with reference to the other landing forces, the Naval Brigade ascended the heights immediately above a succession of small terraces to capture a one-gun battery at their summit, and, after reaching the crest of the boulder, descended its western side to overlook the heavy battery at its foot, and cover, if necessary, the flank of the combined column then advancing along the beach to the westward.

"The one-gun battery was found to be deserted, the gun removed, the carriage only remaining, which was immediately destroyed.



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“In crossing this battery the right flank became exposed to the enemy’s riflemen, concealed in the dense bush on the opposite (east) side of the ravine.

“The leading company immediately deployed in skirmishing order, and returned their fire, while the column pushed on and gained the cover of the upper bluff, though not before the force had suffered the loss of three wounded.

“On descending with much labour through the dense brushwood on the western side, a detachment of French sailors was found in occupation of the upper battery on the right-hand side of the valley.

“The remainder of the force, excepting a company of Royal Marine Artillery (Lieutenant W. H. T. M. Dodgin, Royal Marine Artillery, in command), left to join my command, had continued its march westward.

“Not conceiving the assistance of the brigade required by the main force, and as immediately on arriving at the foot of the hill parties of the enemy had shown themselves at intervals between the trees on either side of the valley, and opened fire with field and mountain pieces and musketry, which they withdrew out of sight towards the head of the valley whenever my men advanced, I determined to hold the batteries on either side of the valley and occupy the men in dismounting the guns, destroying the carriages, and exploding the magazines, &c.; after which, if not required to join the remainder of the force, I intended attacking the enemy’s stockade at the head of the valley and capturing his guns.

“The former part of my intention was carried out, and the men had had half an hour for such dinner as they could get, when I received intelligence that the main body was returning, at the same time an

order from yourself to embark, in accordance with which the Royal Marine Artillery Company had shoved off, when about half-past three I received your orders to retain possession of the batteries, the 'Perseus' being aground beneath that to the eastward.

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"I now considered it more than ever advisable to dislodge the enemy at the end of the valley, and the head of the marine column appearing at this minute, I sent a request to Lieut.-Colonel Suther to co-operate for that object, to which he agreed, selecting the right side of the valley for his attack.

"The Naval Brigade, in order to take the left, instantly but with some difficulty crossed by the ridges between the rice fields, and on reaching the narrow roadway on the left of the valley commenced ascending it at the double.

"The enemy had already commenced firing, but on observing from this, and the approach of the marines, our intention was to attack, his fire became extremely hot. Our men continued at the double and returned it with steadiness and visible effect, and when distant about 200 yards, with a loud cheer from all, the leading company rushed on, the succeeding company, whilst still advancing, returning the enemy's fire, which he continued from the parapet of the moat and top of an eight-foot wall, backing the front side of the palisade, till the leading men were within fifty yards, when he threw down his arms and ran in all directions.

"I regret to state that at this moment a musket-shot through the ankle-joint of the right foot totally incapacitated me from proceeding, and on a stretcher arriving I was carried to the rear, leaving the brigade under the orders of Lieutenant Harington.

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"I have also to regret that this operation was not effected without a severe loss, viz. 7 killed and 26 wounded in the Naval Brigade; but I trust its successful termination, and the moral as well as physical effect of the reverse inflicted on the enemy, may justify, in your opinion, its undertaking.

"It gives me much pleasure to bring to your favourable notice the marked merit displayed in the following instances:—

"1st. Mr. D. G. Boyes, midshipman of the 'Euryalus,' who carried a colour with the leading company, kept it with headlong gallantry in advance of all, in face of the thickest fire, his colour serjeants having fallen, one mortally, the other dangerously wounded, and was only detained from proceeding yet further by the orders of his superior officer. The colour he carried was six times pierced by musket balls.

"2nd. Lieutenant Frederick Edwards, commanding the 3rd company, has called my attention to the intelligence and daring exhibited by William Seeley, ordinary seaman, in ascertaining the enemy's position, and afterwards, when wounded in the arm in the advance, continued to retain his position in the front.

"Lieutenant R. E. Tracey rendered me most valuable assistance throughout, and when disabled myself, conducted the advance with great gallantry and ability.

"Lieutenant Edwards's company, which was in advance, was most gallantly led by him.

"Lieutenant Harington's company efficiently supported him.

"Lieutenant Alfred Jephson's company, through my mistake only, in giving him the wrong route, did not arrive as soon as no doubt it otherwise would have done.

“The ‘Conqueror’s’ companies followed in support of Lieutenant Harington’s, and officers and men showed zeal and alacrity, and far more steadiness than could be expected from men together for so short a time, and under the circumstances.

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“The medical officers, Messrs. E. A. Birch, Samuel McBean, and J. T. Comerford, assistant surgeons, were exceedingly prompt and constant in their attention to the wounded.

“Mr. Rt. N. Haly, clerk, accompanied me throughout the day, and Messrs. Henry H. Dyke and E. P. Hume, midshipmen, acted as my aides-de-camp.

“Lieutenant Crowdy, Royal Engineers, with four of the Royal Engineer Corps, and having also under his directions the Pioneers of the Naval Brigade, afforded active and useful assistance in exploding magazines, destroying gun-carriages, &c. ; at the same time they were very ready with their rifles.

“Mr. Satow, of her Majesty’s legation, Yokohama, accompanied me on all occasions and in the thickest of the fire, to act as interpreter if required.

“In conclusion, the whole force, combatants and non-combatants, during this long hot day, with exceedingly hard work, and under very trying circumstances, behaved in such a manner as to merit the highest praise ; officers and men universally exhibiting gallantry, zeal, energy, steadiness, their only fault being at times a too reckless exposure of themselves, unwarranted by necessity ; and all that their conduct leaves for me to hope is, that I may ever be fortunate enough to have the honour to command such on similar occasions.

“I have, &c.

(Signed)

“J. H. J. ALEXANDER.”

*Lieutenant-Colonel Suther, R.M., to Vice-Admiral  
Sir A. Kuiper.*

*“ ‘Conqueror,’ Straits of Shimonoséki,*

*“ September 7, 1864.*

“ SIR,

“ In compliance with your orders I was yesterday disembarked at 8 o'clock a.m., and placed in command of the brigade landed for the demolition of the enemy's batteries.

“ As soon as the force had been formed, the battalion of English sailors, under the command of Captain Alexander, mounted the heights for the purpose of destroying a three-gun battery, situate about 100 feet above the beach ; and, with the rest of the brigade, viz. a battalion of French sailors, two battalions of Royal Marines (the first under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Penrose, and the second of Lieutenant-Colonel Adair), a detachment of Royal Engineers, under the command of Major Wray, and a battalion of Dutch soldiers and sailors, I marched along the line of batteries, and under your personal observation dismounted the guns, burnt the carriages, and blew up the magazines.

“ On returning from this duty, and after the French and Dutch portion of the brigade had re-embarked, the enemy opened fire upon us from a three-gun stockaded barrack building, situated in a ravine not easily approachable, and very ill-suited to military manœuvring.

“ I directed the two battalions of Royal Marines to storm the building upon its right approach, whilst the battalion of sailors stormed upon its left ; after a sharp resistance the enemy fled from his position.

“Having spiked the guns and set fire to the buildings, I ordered the brigade to return to the place of embarkation. CHAP.  
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“In the execution of this duty I very much regret that several casualties occurred.

“Captain Alexander, while gallantly leading his battalion, was severely wounded and carried to the rear; so also were Captain N. W. de Courcy and Lieutenant J. W. Inglis, of the Royal Marines.

“Where all performed their duties well, it is difficult to individualize; but I feel it incumbent on me to mention the high bearing of the commanding officers of battalions, Lieutenant-Colonel Penrose, Royal Marines, Lieutenant-Colonel C. W. Adair, Royal Marines, and Captain J. H. J. Alexander, Royal Navy; to those officers I am greatly indebted for their zeal and gallantry.

“The senior captain of Royal Marines, Captain N. W. de Courcy, who was severely wounded when at the head of his company, holding a difficult position near the stockade, Captain and Brevet-Major Ambrose Wolrige, Acting Brigade-Major, and First Lieutenant J. C. Hore, my orderly officer, I am bound to bring particularly to notice for their zeal and intelligence.

“The medical staff of Royal Marines, under Dr. C. K. Ord, were most active and prompt in their attendance to the wounded.

“I beg also to state that I received much assistance, when in the stockaded barrack building, from Lieutenant R. E. Tracey, Royal Navy, who carried out some orders it was necessary for me to give in a zealous and efficient manner.

“I have, &c.

(Signed) “W. G. SUTHER.”



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XXVII.  
Ratifica-  
tion by  
Chôshiu of  
three  
articles.

The result of further negotiations between the naval commanders and envoys from the Prince of Chôshiu was that the ratification of the latter was obtained on the 16th of September to a document whereby he engaged :

1. Free  
opening of  
straits.

1. That all ships should thenceforth freely navigate the straits, should be treated in a friendly manner, and should be allowed, if necessary, to coal and purchase provisions.

2. No bat-  
teries.

2. That the batteries should not be repaired or re-armed, and that no new ones should be built.

3. Indem-  
nity.

3. That a ransom should be paid for the town of Shimonoséki, which had been spared, although it fired on the ships, and therefore might have been destroyed. The prince further engaged to pay the whole expenses of the expedition ; agreeing to abide by the decision of the foreign Ministers at Yedo, with regard to these two points.

It may be remarked, as a curious illustration of the extraordinary state of things in Japan, that the Chôshiu clan were, on the one hand, attacking the Emperor's Capital, and, on the other, engaged in hostilities with foreigners, ostensibly at least by order of the Emperor and shôgun.

The twenty-second paragraph of Admiral Kuper's despatch states that, on the 8th of September, whilst the demolition of the batteries was still in progress, an Envoy of the Prince of Chôshiu made his appearance on board the flag-ship, with a flag of truce, charged, as he stated, with instructions from the prince to negotiate for a termination of hostilities ; that he produced documents addressed to the Plenipotentiaries of each of the allied powers, said to have been written by command of the prince, and declaring that no

opposition would in future be offered to the free passage of the straits. The Envoy also, as the Admiral writes, exhibited copies of letters to substantiate the statement that in the various acts of hostility shown by him towards foreign flags, he had acted under the direct authority of the Emperor and the shôgun.

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There is no reason, from what we know from other sources, to doubt the authenticity of these letters, but we also know that as far the bakufu was concerned, they had only been issuing orders for the expulsion of foreigners, in order to gain time, and to conciliate the Court party.

The scene now returns to Yedo, where, after some negotiation, a conference took place on the 6th of October, between the four Representatives, and certain members of the rôjiu, of the second council, and other Japanese officials. At this conference the Japanese ministers agreed that the shôgun's government would unconditionally undertake the engagements of the Prince of Chôshiu as to the payment of all indemnities. The final arrangement is contained in the following convention signed on the 22nd of October:—

October 22  
Convention  
signed  
whereby  
the bakufu  
undertake  
Chôshiu's  
engage-  
ments.

### *Convention.*

“The Representatives of Great Britain, France, the United States, and the Netherlands, in view of the hostile acts of Môri Daizen, Prince of Nagato and Suwô, which were assuming such formidable proportions as to make it difficult for the Tycoon faithfully to observe the Treaties, having been obliged to send their combined forces to the Straits of Shimonoséki, in order to destroy the batteries erected by that Daimio for the destruction of foreign vessels and the stoppage of trade; and the Government of the Tycoon, on whom devolved

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the duty of chastising this rebellious Prince, being held responsible for any damage resulting to the interests of Treaty Powers, as well as the expenses occasioned by the expedition ;

“The Undersigned Representatives of Treaty Powers, and Sakai Hida no Kami,—a member of the Second Council, invested with plenipotentiary powers by the Tycoon of Japan, animated with the desire to put an end to all reclamations concerning the acts of aggression and hostility committed by the said Mōri Daizen, since the first of these acts, in June 1863, against the flags of divers Treaty Powers, and at the same time to regulate definitively the question of indemnities of war, of whatever kind, in respect to the allied expedition to Shimonoséki, have agreed and determined upon the four Articles following :—

## ARTICLE I.

“The amount payable to the four Powers is fixed at 3,000,000 dollars. This sum to include all claims, of whatever nature, for past aggressions on the part of the Prince of Nagato, whether indemnities, ransom for Shimonoséki, or expenses entailed by the operations of the allied squadrons.

## ARTICLE II.

“The whole sum to be payable quarterly in instalments of one-sixth, or 500,000 dollars, to begin from the date when the Representatives of the said Powers shall make known to the Tycoon’s Government the ratification of this convention and the instructions of their respective Governments.

## ARTICLE III.

“Inasmuch as the receipt of money has never been the object of the said Powers, but the establishment of

better relations with Japan, and the desire to place these on a more satisfactory and mutually advantageous footing is still the leading object in view, therefore, if his Majesty the Tycoon wishes to offer in lieu of payment of the sum claimed, and as a material compensation for loss and injury sustained, the opening of Shimonoséki, or some other eligible port in the Inland Sea, it shall be at the option of the said foreign Governments to accept the same, or insist on the payment of the indemnity in money under the conditions above stipulated.

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#### ARTICLE IV.

“This convention to be formally ratified by the Tycoon’s Government within fifteen days from the date thereof.

“In token of which the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed this convention in quintuplicate, with English and Japanese versions, whereof the English shall be considered the original.

“Done at Yokohama this 22nd day of October, 1864, corresponding to the twenty-second day of the ninth month of the first year of Genji.

“The Japanese character for :

“SAKAI HIDA NŌ KAMI.

(Signed) “RUTHERFORD ALCOCK,

“*Her Britannic Majesty’s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan.*

“LÉON ROCHES,

“*Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté l’Empereur des Français au Japon.*

“ROBERT H. PRUYN,

“*Minister Resident of the United States in Japan.*

“D. DE GRAEFF VAN POLSBROEK,

“*His Netherlands Majesty’s Consul-General and Political Agent in Japan.*”

Power was thus reserved to the shōgun to offer Shimonoséki, or some eligible port in the Inland Sea, as a port for foreign trade in lieu of the money payment, and as a material compensation for the loss sustained by the treaty powers, with whom, however, the option rested to accept the one or the other.

“In the event of the treaty powers electing payment in money,” writes Sir R. Alcock, “and a repartition becoming necessary among them, of the whole amount of 3,000,000 dollars, a memorandum has been annexed, signed by the four Representatives, declaring that, in respect to indemnities for all anterior acts of the Prince of Nagato in firing upon the ships and flags of three of the treaty powers, they have assumed as a basis the amount of indemnity fixed at Paris, by the government of the Emperor, for their share, namely, 140,000 dollars. If, therefore, France should adhere to this amount, as can hardly be otherwise, I conceive, and the other two powers claim a like amount, the total for indemnities for acts antecedent to the expedition will be under 500,000 dollars, (that is, 420,000 dollars), leaving 2,500,000 for division, to cover the expenses of the expedition undertaken by the allied squadrons.”

#### *Memorandum.*

“The Undersigned, having on behalf of their respective Governments entered into a convention with the Government of his Majesty the Tycoon, providing for the payment by him of a gross sum of 3,000,000 dollars for indemnities and expenses occasioned by the hostile acts of the Prince of Nagato, declare that they assumed as the basis of such convention that entered into at Paris with the Commissioners of the Tycoon



(not ratified by the Tycoon because of other provisions), in and by which the payment of 140,000 dollars was to be made to the Government of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French for the attack on the 'Kien-chang.' As such sum or a larger one may be justly claimed, and as the Governments of the United States and the Netherlands are justly entitled to like indemnities for more serious attacks on national and merchant ships of those countries by the same Prince, it is reserved for those Governments to decide if any and what indemnities from the said gross amount so to be paid by the Japanese Government shall be paid therefore.

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XXVII.  
Memorandum signed by the Representatives as to repartition of indemnity.

"In view of the possible acceptance by the said Governments of a port in the Inland Sea in lieu thereof, which will render any division unnecessary, the Undersigned reserve the same for adjustment by their Governments; and to provide an equitable basis, have hereto annexed memoranda of the Naval Commanders, showing the number of ships furnished by each for the expedition and assigned for the defence of the several ports, with their armaments and crews; and also of the Military Commanders, showing the number of troops collected for the same purposes.

"Yokohama, October 22, 1864.

(Signed) "RUTHERFORD ALCOCK,

*"Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan.*

"LÉON ROCHES,

*"Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français au Japon.*

"ROBT. H. PRUYN,

*"Minister Resident of the United States in Japan.*

"D. DE GRAEFF VON POLSBROEK,

*"His Netherlands Majesty's Consul-General and Political Agent in Japan."*



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XXVII.Revival of  
trade.

One of the beneficial results of the affair of Shimonoséki was a revival of trade.

Her Majesty's government at first did not seem to approve of Sir R. Alcock's proceedings, and no doubt, at a distance, without having all the facts before them, it was not easy to judge such a decided policy accurately.

Sir R.  
Alcock  
ordered to  
return to  
England.

So the Envoy was ordered to repair to England to explain matters, and it is satisfactory to record that after the receipt of detailed accounts of the grounds which had determined this policy, and of the good results of the hostile operations, Earl Russell conveyed to Sir R. Alcock the entire approval of his proceedings on the part of her Majesty's government.

Comments  
on the suc-  
cessful  
policy.

The success was complete. As after the affair at Kagoshima, so was it after that of Shimonoséki. As the former opened the eyes of the Satsuma clan to the superior power of the foreigners, and turned their hostility into overtures of friendship, so it was now with the Chôshiu clan, and thus two of the most determined enemies to foreign intercourse were won over to our side. The loss of life was inconsiderable, and it is at least probable that the striking of this decisive blow not only at once avoided more serious complications, but also a greater loss of life in the future. It was necessary, unless we determined to be continually harassed, and to suffer our trade to be exposed to serious interruptions, that the warlike but ignorant clans should be taught their inferiority in war. Nothing less than actual experience would have convinced them, and they were acute enough to perceive and profit by that experience. If, then, we were determined to insist on the treaties being carried out, and not to withdraw from Japan, it seems to have been

been essential for our future relations of amity and trade, that the blow should be struck at once, and nothing has occurred since to favour a different opinion, or a different policy.

CHAP.  
XXVII.  
Desirability  
of ratifica-  
tion of  
treaties by  
the Emperor

The more accurate information which was beginning to ooze out respecting the real relations of the shôgun to the Emperor, and the conviction which had gradually forced itself upon the minds of foreign Representatives that the "Tycoon" was not in reality the sovereign of Japan, made it naturally of the greatest importance that the treaties, originally concluded with the "Tycoon" as such sovereign, should be ratified by the Emperor at Kiôto. It was becoming manifest that the existence of these two centres of authority was at the bottom of most of the complications which had arisen in respect of foreign relations, and it was high time that the ministers of the shôgun should be made aware that the Representatives would have to insist upon a recognition of the treaties by the Emperor, in order that future difficulties might be avoided, and that the relations with foreigners might be placed upon a more satisfactory and durable basis.

These considerations were brought to the notice of the shôgun's government in the conference of the 6th of October, and the answer of the Japanese ministers was the stereotyped phrase, that they could give no promise, but that every effort would be made on their part to obtain the ratification from the Emperor. They were then informed that, in view of the gravity of the situation, and the absolute necessity for some immediate resolution in regard to the foreign policy of Japan, each of the foreign Envoys had felt it his duty to address a letter to the "Tycoon," which he then handed over, with a request that the same

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should be delivered. The contents of Sir R. Alcock's letter were as follows :—

Letter  
to the  
"Tycoon"  
on this  
subject.

"SIRE,

*"Yedo, October 5, 1864.*

"At the present moment, when a grave resolution is about to be taken of a nature to influence the relations of your country with foreign Powers, I conceive it is my duty, as the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited by my Sovereign to your Majesty, to submit for your appreciation the following observations bearing upon the actual situation, in order to define with precision the real questions at issue, which it is becoming each day more urgently necessary to solve in a satisfactory manner.

"The experience of the last few years has abundantly manifested that there exists a want of accord on the subject of foreign relations between the Mikado and Tycoon. Public proclamations and official declaration of the members of the Gorôjiu to the foreign Representatives have otherwise placed this fact beyond all doubt.

The Mikado, requiring the abrogation of Treaties, has reduced the Tycoon to the alternative of either disobeying his legitimate Sovereign, or bringing on his country all the calamities of a war against four of the greatest Powers of the West. For to annul the Treaties entered into with them without their consent is to declare war.

"The Tycoon, desiring to avoid both these fatal contingencies, has hitherto sought a solution of the difficulty by half measures, equally distasteful to the Mikado and foreign Powers.

"Hence to the formal demand for the abandon-

ment of Yokohama and the hostile acts of Daimios forming a Sakkô party,\* the Treaty Powers have replied by the despatch of military and naval forces adequate to the protection of this port and the destruction of the batteries and defences of the Prince of Nagato.

“The Mikado can no longer be under any illusion, therefore. If he continue to desire the abrogation of Treaties he must also desire war.

“It is for the Tycoon, who knows all the dangers of the situation, to anticipate and prevent the fatal consequences. The time for half measures has passed irrevocably. The four great Powers, having material interests in Japan, can no longer suffer their own dignity and the interests of their subjects to be continually called in question. A solution of the difficulty has become indispensable ; and the only one that promises either peace or security is the ratification of the Treaties by the Mikado.

“This act, which offers the only guarantee which the Treaty Powers can accept, will put an end to a situation becoming each hour more pregnant with danger.

“This basis once laid, it would be easy to come to a mutual understanding as to the reconstruction of the rest of the edifice and the maintenance of good relations.

“It is with the view of indicating this solution, Sire, and above all to lead you to comprehend that it ought to be immediate, that I have determined, after communication with my colleagues, to address this letter personally to your Majesty, persuaded that

\* The party advocating the closing of the ports to foreigners.

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XXVII.

the frankness and loyalty of its language, if listened to, will avert the calamities which must result from a continuation of the policy hitherto followed in regard to foreigners by the Government of your Majesty.

“With the highest respect, &c.

(Signed) “RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.”

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

1864.

Murder of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird.—Arrest and Confession of Shimidzu Seiji, one of the Criminals.

ON the eve of Sir R. Alcock's departure for England another shocking murder of foreigners was added to the long list already recorded. CHAP.  
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The following details are taken from the papers presented to Parliament (Japan No. 2, 1865), and, with his permission, from the graphic account of Herr Rudolph Lindau, at that time Swiss consul at Yokohama, and at present attached to the German Embassy in Paris. It will be found in his *Erzählungen und Novellen*, vol. i. pp. 15—54.

Major George Walter Baldwin and Lieutenant Robert Nicholas Bird, both of the 2nd Battalion, 20th Regiment, had started on horseback on the 20th of November for a few days' excursion to some favourite resorts of foreigners within the treaty limits.

About one o'clock on the morning of the 22nd of November the governor of Kanagawa came to Mr. Consul Winchester's house, and informed him that he had received intelligence of an attack upon two foreigners, said to be English officers, at Kamakura.

Nov. 20.  
Major  
Baldwin  
and Lieut.  
Bird leave  
Yokohama  
on an  
excursion.

Nov. 22.  
News of  
attack on  
two  
foreigners  
at Kama-  
kura.



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the place often mentioned in this history as the capital of the shôgun Yoritomo and his successors. It is about seventeen miles from Yokohama. The account was that one of the foreigners was killed, and the other severely wounded. The governor admitted that he had received the intelligence three or four hours previously, and he explained the delay which had occurred in communicating it by stating that his residence being some distance off, and the vice-governor having first to be found, a considerable time had elapsed before he could himself take any steps; he added that he had then instantly despatched some of his own officials to the scene of the murder, and had subsequently walked to the consul's house, a distance of two miles or more, and that he had also lost some time in gaining admission into the house.

Sir R. Alcock observes that the governor's course of action was not very satisfactory, but was unfortunately not without many precedents; that the invariable rule, when foreigners were murdered, seemed to be to send in the first place for instructions to the government at Yedo, and to despatch their own emissaries to the scene. The last step was taken, as Sir R. Alcock believed, principally with the object of securing all the evidence on the spot, and of providing against any evidence being given to the foreign consuls other than such as the native authorities should deem fitting or expedient.

It will be seen that this practice has a very painful bearing on the worst features of the present case.

The governor, in answer to Mr. Winchester's further inquiries, said that the messenger who had brought the report, and had left Kamakura before seven in the evening, confirmed the statement that one of the

victims was still alive, and that he had himself said he was an English officer.

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One stated  
to be still  
alive.

Arrangements were forthwith made with Colonel Browne, commanding the British garrison, for the despatch of a strong party to Kamakura. This detachment consisted of Lieutenant Wood and twenty-five mounted artillerymen, and was accompanied by an assistant-surgeon and by Mr. Lachlan Fletcher, one of the English interpreters attached to the consulate.

Detachment of  
artillerymen,  
&c.,  
sent to  
Kamakura.

It was about two o'clock in the morning that Herr Lindau was awoke by his Japanese servant with the news of the murder of the two foreigners, brought by an official. He rose at once and proceeded to the governor's house, where he found Colonel Browne and Mr. Fletcher.

Not long afterwards Herr von Brandt, then Prussian consul, and Herr Lindau were on horseback ready to start for the scene of the murder, and riding through the night, the latter's native groom running before them with a lantern, they pursued their way to Kamakura, which they reached with the dawn.

Herr Von  
Brandt and  
Herr  
Lindau  
proceed to  
Kamakura.

Before the inn were some Japanese officials, who directed them to the fatal spot, and they continued along the straight alley leading towards the great statue of Buddha. Suddenly they came upon some object covered with old mats, in a kind of shed formed of the same material, and propped up by bamboo. They alighted at once, and, lifting up the mats, discovered a horrible sight, the two frightfully mutilated remains of the murdered men. They lay on their backs, both quite dead, the arms extended away from the bodies so as to form a cross, the legs stretched out. One corpse was that of a strong big man with black curly hair, and full dark beard; the open glassy

Discovery  
of the  
bodies.  
Both men  
dead.

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eyes had a staring look ; two fingers of his right hand were cut off ; the left hand held a riding-whip bespattered with blood ; near him lay a broken spur. This was Major Baldwin. His revolver was in the case attached to his waist, and all the chambers were discharged. The other corpse, that of Lieutenant Bird, was of a young fair man. Arms and legs were literally hacked to pieces ; the head nearly severed from the trunk. Near his left hand was a revolver, the barrel of which next the capped one was discharged. Close to the bodies two horses were tied up, and their saddles and bridles were stained with blood.

Other foreigners soon arrived, and amongst them Mr. Fletcher, with Lieutenant Wood and the mounted artillerymen. The ground in the vicinity was examined, but no particular information was obtained. The bodies were carried by the soldiers to the neighbouring shore, and transported thence by sea to Yokohama.

The bodies  
are taken  
to Yoko-  
hama.

Inquest.

An inquest was held on the 22nd and 23rd, before Mr. Winchester as coroner, Captains Rochfort, Fahie, and Aldridge of the 20th Regiment acting as jurors. The finding was as follows :—

*Finding.*

“ That Major George Walter Baldwin and Lieutenant Robert Nicholas Bird were cruelly murdered near the town of Kamakura on the 21st of November instant, about four in the afternoon.

“ That from the evidence brought before them, the jury have no doubt that this atrocious crime was the act of Japanese swordsmen unknown.

“ The jury further find that this attack must, in all likelihood, have been made on both sides simul-

taneously, and by a party of five or six ruffians at the very least, but possibly of even greater number.

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“The jury are further of opinion that the Japanese evidence read in court is utterly worthless, and that there must be ample testimony in the possession of the Japanese authorities, or attainable by them, descriptive of the whole circumstances of the tragedy.

(Signed) “G. ROCHFORD, *Captain, 20th Regiment.*

“CONROY FAHIE,       ”       ”

“J. ALDRIDGE,       ”       ”

“Approved:

(Signed) “CHARLES A. WINCHESTER,

“*Consul and Coroner.*”

It will be seen in the sequel that there were actually only two Japanese concerned in the murders.

One of the members of the second council was speedily sent down to Yokohama by the rôjiu to convey their condolences to Sir R. Alcock, and to express their regret that such an event had occurred, at this moment above all others, when the relations of the shôgun's government with foreign powers were daily assuming a more satisfactory character. “The vice-minister,” Sir Rutherford writes, “seemed really affected, and assured me in the most earnest manner that no efforts should be spared to track the murderers, and, if possible, have them executed on the very scene of their crime before I took my departure.”

From the evidence obtained at the coroner's inquest and afterwards, the circumstances of the murder came to light.

Details of  
murder.

Signor F. Beato, well known for his admirable photographs of Japanese scenery and natives, Mr. Charles Wirgman, and the Marquis de Bonnay,

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amongst others, were called as witnesses. They deposed to having seen Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird at the island of Enoshima, on the morning of the murder, and Signor Beato had endeavoured to persuade them to accompany his party to Fujisawa, on the tôkaidô, but they said that they wished particularly to see the statue of Buddha (Daibutsû), and so they left. The other party walked on the three miles to Fujisawa, where they stayed the night. In the evening a native groom informed them that the two officers had been assassinated on the road between the Daibutsû and Kamakura, but no one would believe the report, and the next day they returned to Yokohama.

The most important witness was a Japanese boy, eleven years old. In order to make his story clear, it is necessary to describe the scene of the tragedy.

Description  
of the  
locality.

The ground between Kamakura and the Daibutsû is quite flat. The road from the former place leads first along a fine broad alley, planted on either side with tall trees of ancient growth. At the end of the alley is a small house of refreshment—what is commonly called a tea-house—on the left of it there is a well, and on the right a lofty tree, the trunk of which conceals a small seat of turf. Between the tea-house and the tree the road bends sharply to the right, is narrowed to a footpath, and traverses bare fields to a village in the vicinity of the Daibutsû. A man sitting on the turf seat can overlook these flat fields, and at the same time can easily conceal himself from any one approaching from either side. There is a third road which leads in straight continuation of the alley to the sea-shore, and on each side of it walls of earth rise up about four feet high, erected probably as a



defence against floods. Behind them the growth is thick, and five or six feet high. From there both the alley from Kamakura and the road to the Daibutsū can be seen. Here and there, in the plain and close to the three roads above mentioned, isolated houses and huts, the abodes of husbandmen and fishermen, are visible.

The Japanese boy, who lived near the tea-house, stated that on the day of the murder he had been sent out to buy oil, and on the road to the Daibutsū had met a couple of two-sworded men, who had asked him how far it was to the image, to Kamakura, and to the sea. Having given the required information, he went his way, and on his return he saw the same two men sitting on the small turf seat. He observed that each had thrown back the wide sleeve of his dress, as Japanese are wont to do when about to fight, to run, or to prepare for some violent movement. One of them called to him to be off, as it was dangerous to stay there.

Evidence  
of a  
Japanese  
boy, who  
saw the two  
officers  
attacked  
by two  
*samurai*.

The boy then took the road leading to the shore, and clambering over the earthen wall, hid himself among the bushes. From this position he perceived the two English officers approach slowly on horseback along the plain from the Daibutsū, Baldwin being ahead. When they neared the spot where the Japanese were sitting, and at the very moment when Baldwin's horse was passing the tree, the two *samurai*, who had drawn their long swords, rushed upon the unfortunate foreigner, and cut at him; he was forced from his horse, and fell to the ground. The boy was dreadfully frightened, and ran away. The *samurai* then attacked Bird, who had now rounded the tree, and they wounded him so severely that he too, uttering a



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terrible cry, fell off his pony. Meanwhile Baldwin had raised himself up, his face and clothes were covered with blood, and he staggered towards the earthen wall behind which the boy lay concealed, uttering something in a foreign tongue—no doubt in English—but few, and always the same, words. He then attempted to get over the wall, but the murderers rushed at him, a terrible cry was again heard, and all was still. One of the *samurai* plucked a handful of leaves and wiped his sword with them, and then they both disappeared.

The boy was too frightened to move for some minutes. When he at last summoned up courage to do so, he cast one look at the bloody scene, and perceived the tall man with the dark hair, *i.e.* Baldwin, creeping on all fours towards the well, to the spot where his companion lay. He then ran home and told his story, which seems to have been substantially true.

Both seem  
to have  
lived  
some time.

But there was one dreadful point remaining unexplained. The Japanese, who had seen Baldwin and Bird soon after the attack, unanimously declared that both the wounded men had lived for some time, and had spoken to each other, and it appeared that Bird had survived some hours. The head man of the nearest village was sent for by some of the country people who first saw, or admitted that they saw, the mangled foreigners, and from about 5 p.m. the latter must be held to have been in his custody. By his order it appears that they were removed from the place where they fell, a Japanese doctor was sent for, watches were set over them, and a messenger was despatched to the governor at Kanagawa. This doctor and others deposed to have been with the survivor, to have heard

The  
survivor  
said to  
have died  
about 10  
p.m.

him speak, to have seen him move his head, and attempt to drink water and medicine. This until about ten o'clock, when they said he died.

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The evidence of the surgeons, after a careful *post-mortem* examination of the wounds, was that one which Lieutenant Bird received across the back of the neck had divided the spine across the bodies of the second and third cervical vertebræ, completely severing the spinal cord at that point; and they declared that after receiving such a wound he could not have survived, but must have died almost instantaneously.

Evidence  
of the  
surgeons.

It would thus appear as if the death-wound was inflicted on Bird after the attack, and it was argued that he had been killed, perhaps by one of the Japanese officials, in the course of the evening, in order to remove a witness of the deed out of the way. The actual circumstances have never been divulged.

Bird's  
death-  
wound  
probably  
inflicted  
after the  
attack.

The funeral of the two officers took place in Yokohama, and the whole community, the 20th Regiment, and many Japanese officials accompanied the hearses to the cemetery. Colonel Browne spoke a few feeling words, Sir R. Alcock declared that he would do all in his power to bring the guilty men to justice, the usual three volleys were fired over the graves, and all was so far over.

Funeral.

But about four weeks later news came that one of the murderers had been arrested, and this is Mr. Lindau's account of the matter:—

A certain *samurai*, called Shimidzu Seiji, had been living in one of the inns in Shinagawa, the ill-famed suburb of Yedo. His story was that he was a *rônin*, and was awaiting some friends with whom he was to travel to Shimonoséki. He had formed a con-

Arrest of  
Shimidzu  
Seiji in  
Shinagawa.

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nection with one of the serving-maids in the inn, a great affection had sprung up between them, and he had expressed his intention of buying her out of the house, if he could only obtain the required sum.

The inn was a rendezvous for young wild fellows of the military class, who were wont to prolong their festivities far into the night. They had often invited Seiji to join them, but he had always refused under pretext of being unwell, and inclined neither for drink nor song. Still his landlord remarked that this did not prevent him from consuming large quantities of *saké*\* in company with the serving-maid.

One evening, however, he unexpectedly appeared in the large room where a number of people were assembled. He was excited, and after exchanging friendly greetings with several of those present, he called for food and *saké*, and with the maid joined a gay circle of revellers, and laughed and sang with the merriest of them. He was evidently intoxicated.

This was not lost upon the landlord, who plied him with liquor, and his tongue was still more loosened, notwithstanding the entreaties of the girl, who, sitting quietly by his side, vainly begged him to leave the room and retire to his own chamber.

The conversation fell upon foreigners, and on hearing them named, Seiji became furious. He abused them roundly, and cursed the weakness of the Japanese government, who suffered the intruders to remain in the country, and ended by exclaiming that they would

\* It should be particularly noticed that this beverage is not *wine*; it is not made from the juice of the grape, but fermented from rice. "Rice-beer" would almost be the best translation, but its appearance is so different from beer, that I prefer to keep the Japanese word.

soon disappear from the face of Japan, if only a few patriots could be found, willing to make common cause with him, and act as he did.

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Now, since the murder of Baldwin and Bird, strict orders had been given by the authorities to all the keepers of inns and refreshment-houses to watch their guests and to report anything suspicious. On hearing Seiji's wild language the landlord rose quietly, and left the room, unobserved by all except the girl. She immediately turned to her lover and whispered in his ear. A sudden change came over him, he became silent, and soon after retired to his room. When he returned, after a short time, he took up his old place, but instead of joining in the conversation, he remained silent, watching the entrance, and in an attitude ready for springing up at a moment's notice. Suddenly the landlord returned, with six officers, and summoned Seiji to give himself up. The latter sprang upon his legs, drew a short sword from his sleeve, but before he could use it, he was seized, thrown down, and bound. He was then led away to prison, and the next day he confessed to have murdered the two Englishmen, but, as he had done so out of pure patriotic feeling, he hoped he might be allowed to die as a man of gentle blood should, namely, by suicide.

He subsequently made a full confession. He was twenty-five years old, and came from Awomori in the north of the main island. His father had been in the prince's service, but had to leave it in consequence of some quarrel, and died in poverty, leaving his son only two family swords. The son tried in vain to enter the service of several princes. He heard everywhere that Japan was impoverished, that her ancient

His confession.

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glory was departing, whilst strangers were becoming masters of the land, and carrying off all its riches. The gold coins had already disappeared; only the rich could still wear silk garments; the common necessities of life, tea and rice, had doubled and trebled in price; the princes were obliged to have recourse to loans and mortgages in order to live according to their station, and they therefore could not think of increasing the number of their retainers.

Then he heard that in Chôshiu preparations were being made to oppose the foreigners, and he travelled on foot to that territory, in the hopes of joining in the fight. But when he reached Shimonoséki the patriots had been defeated, and he was told that the prince, the shôgun, and even the Mikado, had been forced to conclude humiliating treaties with the foreign conquerors.

Upon this he journeyed with others of his sort to Yedo, concealed his arms in the earth before entering the city, and then managed to earn a scanty subsistence as a common day-labourer. But the thought that the foreigners were the cause of his fallen state never left him.

One day he was sent with a parcel to Yokohama, and what he saw there filled him with astonishment. No one paid any respect to the Japanese officials; merchants and labourers rode on horseback in the streets as if they were men of gentle birth; in the theatre the strangers occupied the best places, they laughed and conversed loudly together, they came in and went out without troubling themselves about the representation or the spectators, as if they were the rightful owners of the place; the natives made way



for these strangers, and even conversed with them. Seiji left the theatre in the greatest excitement at what he had seen. "Had I been armed," said he, "I should have known how to make myself respected."

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The inspection of a house belonging to a foreigner, and the contemptuous behaviour of its owner, irritated Seiji still more, and when he returned to Yedo he brooded over all he had seen, and his own destitute position.

A few days later he met in Shinagawa a *samurai*, who had also been in Yokohama, and spoke of the pride and power of the strangers. Seiji said that he felt strong enough to kill any *tojin* (foreigner, barbarian) who came in his way, and after much talk the two swore eternal friendship, and determined to proceed to Yokohama and kill as many foreigners as they could.

After having extorted a sum of money from a rich man, they started for Yokohama, Seiji having bought clothes becoming his station, and having dug up his arms. But the settlement was strictly watched, and as they had no passes, they were refused entrance at all the barriers. After this they tarried several weeks in the neighbourhood; but though they met many foreigners, these latter were generally in parties, armed, and on their guard, and mostly on horseback.

Then they went on to Kamakura to worship at the great temple. There they saw many foreigners, but it was only in the afternoon that they had a chance of fulfilling their deadly purpose, when they perceived the two English officers riding along the narrow road from the Daibutsū. They resolved at once to kill these men, and how they carried out their resolve has already been told.



Seiji would give little information about his companion, from whom, he said, he separated at once, and whom he had not since seen. The details of the execution of the criminals belong to the year 1865.

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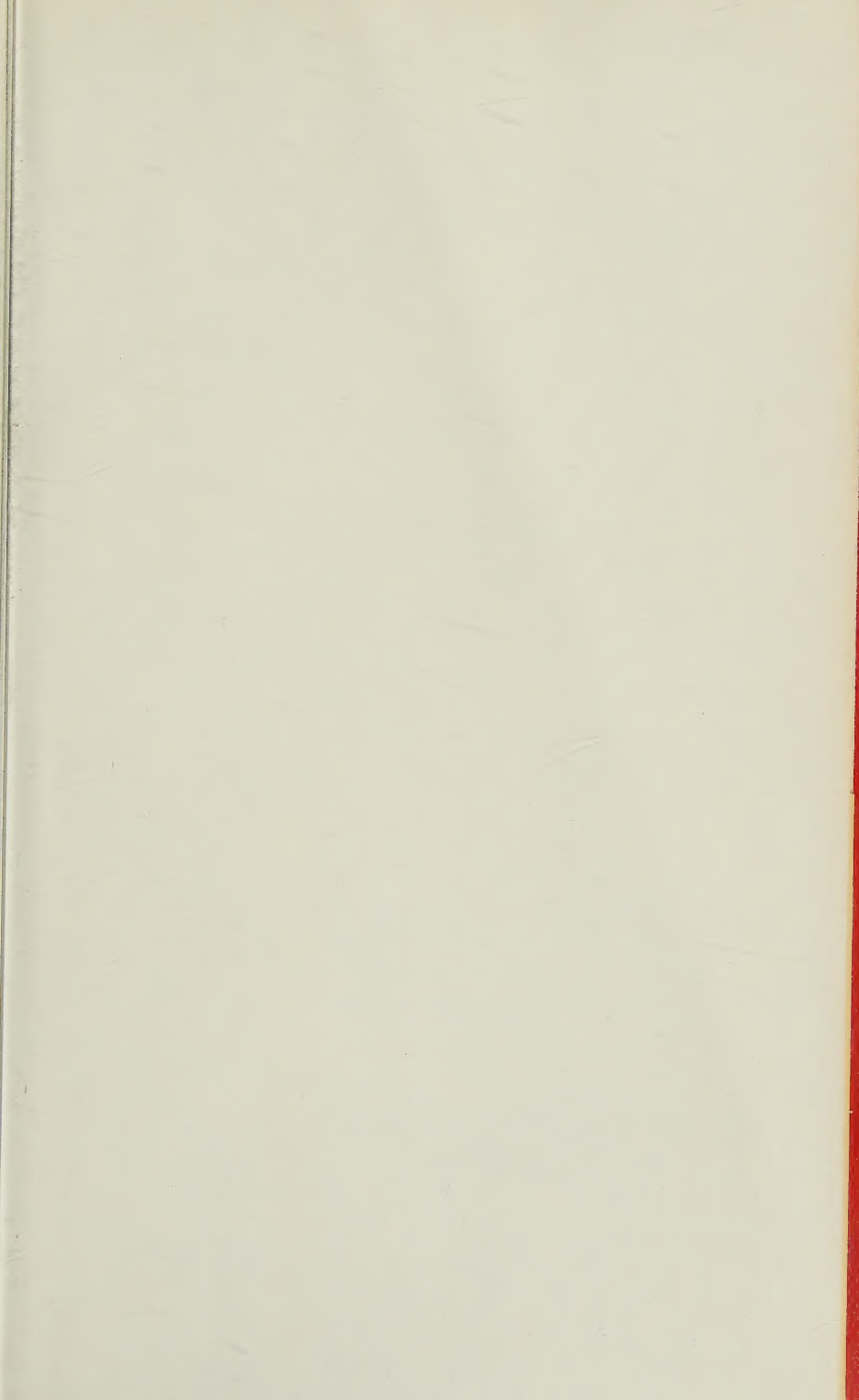
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